M. T. CICERONIS

ORATIONES

QUÆDAM SELECTÆ,

NOTIS ILLUSTRATÆ.

IN USUM ACADEMIÆ EXONIENSIS.

Editio Stereotypa,

TABULIS ANALYTICIS INSTRUCTA.



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1864.

LEVERETT'S CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

From John J. Owen, Principal of Cornelius Institute, New York, and Editor of Xenophon's Anabasis.

I have examined with some attention Cæsar's Commentaries, edited by Leverett, and Cicero's Orations, edited by Folsom, and am happy to recommend them to classical teachers, as being, in my estimation, far superior to any other editions of those works, to which students in this country have general access. The typography is fair and accurate, and the general appearance of the books does honor to the enterprising publisher. I hope these editions will be extensively used in our Academies and High Schools.

(Signed) JOHN J. OWEN, *Cornelius Institute.*
New York, Nov. 22, 1843.

I have attentively perused Leverett's Cæsar. The neatness and accuracy of the Text, and the beautiful adaptation of the Notes, compel me to use it in preference to any other that I have seen.

(Signed) E. H. JENNY, *Principal of New York Institute.*
New York, Nov. 1, 1843.

FOLSOM'S CICERO'S ORATIONS.

From Charles E. West, Principal of Rutgers Female Institute, New York.

I take pleasure in commending to teachers the recent beautiful edition of Folsom's Cicero. The attractiveness of its text, notes, synoptical and analytical tables, and typographical execution, led me to place it in the hands of a class of young ladies, who are reading it with delight.

(Signed) CHARLES E. WEST, *Principal of R. F. I.*
New York, Nov. 1, 1843.

I have examined Cicero's Orations, edited by Charles Folsom, and prefer it to any other I have seen. The Synopsis and Analysis of each Oration are so beautifully given, that it seems as a Rhetoric, as well as a Text Book for learning Latin. I shall use it exclusively in the institution under my charge.

(Signed) E. H. JENNY, *Principal of New York Institute.*
New York, Nov. 1, 1843.

I have carefully examined the recent editions of Leverett's Cæsar, and Folsom's Cicero, and fully concur in the opinions above expressed.

(Signed) WM. A. TAYLOR, *Principal of All Saints Parochial School.*
New York, Nov. 1843.

University Press, Cambridge:
Printed by Welch, Bigelow, and Company.

TO

BENJAMIN ABBOT, LL. D.,

PRINCIPAL OF PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY,

THIS EDITION

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

THE EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

The Second Edition of this book having been revised by the Editor of the present, in the year 1811, under the direction and with the assistance of the respected head of the institution for the use of which it was originally prepared, and having obtained the reputation of an accurate classical school-book, it was with regret that those who felt a personal concern in that edition, saw a third and surreptitious one make its appearance, deformed with the grossest errors, and, by the absence of all intelligent care, doing discredit to the classical school with the name of which it was associated.

At the instance, therefore, of his venerated friend, Dr. Abbot, the Editor undertook to publish a Fourth Edition, which should be less unworthy of the Roman orator, and of that seat of liberal discipline, so fondly remembered by so many of the friends of good learning in the community.

As to the Text, that of the edition of Cicero's works by Dr. Carey (among what are commonly called the *Regent's Pocket Classics*), which is derived from Olivet and Ernesti, has been adopted, as by far the best for a school-book; since it not only affords the results of the labors of modern criticism upon this author; but for the distribution into paragraphs, the punctuation, and, in general, the judicious employment of the resources of the printing art to illustrate the sense, is probably unequalled. The words included in brackets are such as are considered to be spurious, or are rendered doubtful by being variously written in different MSS., or for some other reason are a subject of disagreement among critics. No change has been made in this text, except in conforming the orthography of certain words to that of the dictionaries and grammars in common use in this country, and distinguishing by accents certain equivocal words. The lines have been numbered in the margin, as well for the sake of disencumbering the body of the text of figures referring to the notes, as for the convenience of the instructer in exercising his pupils in grammatical analysis.

The Notes, according to the good usage which now prevails in books of this sort, have been placed by themselves at the end of the volume, that they may be consulted only when needed, in learning a lesson, and not when the pupil should rely on his memory, in *reciting* it. Some of the explanatory notes were rendered unnecessary by the improved state of the text, and these have been omitted; some that were wrong have been expunged or altered; and notwithstanding the faults of matter or

style that may still be observed, the whole has received many corrections. Among the additional notes, a few are philological; but the most important consist of the Synoptical and Analytical Tables of Voëllus. These were first published by Olivet, and, it is believed, have never been republished, probably on account of the difficulty of reducing them to the size of a school-book. They were originally intended for the help of young students, and the school-boy recollections of many persons will doubtless convince them of the necessity of some such aid for understanding the structure and scope of these most artificial compositions, and for perceiving the relation of each lesson to the general argument of which it forms a part. As the Tables consist almost always of the precise words of the text, only differently disposed, they do not render less necessary to the student a thorough investigation of the words of his lesson; and while they encourage diligence, they will not screen idleness. In these, also, care has been taken to conform the orthography to that of the body of the Orations, and to adapt to the sections in common use the numbers by which Voëllus referred to the now disused divisions of Nizolius.

CHARLES FOLSOM.

Cambridge, March 1, 1828.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE STEREOTYPE EDITION.

The vignette inserted in the title-page of this edition is copied from Fosbroke's "Encyclopædia of Antiquities,"* where it is thus spoken of: "The following medal, proved to be a faithful portrait of Cicero, was struck by the inhabitants of Magnesia of Sipylus, in the archonship of Theodorus, to express their gratitude to Cicero for his exertions in the Senate to procure them a remittance of the contributions levied on the Asiatic provinces for support of the Edilian games. The medal is preserved in the monastery of La Close, near Ravenna."

The ancient *Magnesia ad Sipylum* (now called *Manisa*) was a town in Lydia, situated at the foot of mount Sipylus, about 20 miles N. N. E. from Smyrna.

This interesting medal, which is very rare, is of bronze. It bears on the obverse a naked head of Tully, with the name *ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ*, (*Marcus Tullius Cicero*): on the reverse is a hand, holding out a bunch of grapes, an ear of wheat, an olive branch (emblems, doubtless, of the prosperity of the people whose interest he had promoted), and a chaplet of laurel, with the legend *ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC*, (*Magnetum ad Sipylum Theodorus*).

C. F.

Cambridge, January 1, 1831.

* Vol. 1, page 197, edit. Lond. 1825.

ORATIO I.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. Quousque tandem abutêre, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrænata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum præsidium Palatii, nihil Urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatûs locus, nihil horum ora vultusque, moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum conscientiâ teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid proximâ, quid superiore, nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrûm ignorare arbitraris?

O tempora! o mores! Senatus hæc intelligit; consul videt: hic tamen vivit! Vivit? immo verò, etiam in senatum venit: fit publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad cædem unumquemque nostrûm. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.

Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci, jussu consulis, jampridem oportebat; in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris. An verò vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum reipublicæ, privatus interfecit; Catilinam verò, orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quòd C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium, novis rebus studentem, manu suâ occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republicâ virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum, quàm acerbissimum hostem, coërcerent. Habemus senatûs-consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest reipub-

licæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico apertè, consules desumus.

II. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfectus est, propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones, C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus: occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius, consularis. Simili senatûs-consulto, C. Mario et L. Valerio, consulibus, permissa est respublica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis, et C. Servilium prætorem, mors ac reipublicæ pœna remorata est? At nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatûs-consultum, veruntamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vaginâ reconditum; quo ex senatûs-consulto, confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis; et vivis, non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam, audaciam. Cupio, Patres Conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio, in tantis reipublicæ periculis, me non dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipse inertiæ nequitiæque condemno.

Castra sunt in Italiâ, contra rempublicam, in Etruriæ faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem imperatorem castrorum, ducemque hostium, intra mœnia, atque adeò in senatu, videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem reipublicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici, jussero; credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potiùs omnes boni seriùs a me, quàm quisquam crudeliùs, factum esse dicat. Verùm ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, certâ de causâ, nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, cùm jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis, inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: et vives ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis præsidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis: multorum te etiam oculi et aures, non sentientem, (sicut adhuc fecerunt) speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam ampliùs exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis tuæ potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere cædis, atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me, ante diem XII. Calendas Novembris, dicere in senatu, fore in

armis certo die (qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Calendas Novembris) C. Manlium, audaciæ satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modò res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verùm (id, quod multò magis est admirandum) dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Calendas Novembris, tum, cùm multi principes civitatis Româ (non tam sui conservandi, quàm tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum) causâ profugerunt. Num inficiari potes, te illo ipso die, meis præsidiis, meâ diligentiâ circumclusum, commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse; cùm tu, discessu cæterorum, nostrâ tamen, qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas?

Quid? cùm tu te Præneste Calendis ipsis Novembris occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres; sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu, præsidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque, esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego non modò non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planèque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multò me vigilare acriùs ad salutem, quàm te ad perniciem, reipublicæ. Dico te priori nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscurè) in M. Læcæ domum; convenisse eòdem complures ejusdem amentiæ scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? convincam, si negas: video enim esse hîc in senatu quosdam, qui tecum unâ fuêre.

O Dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in quâ urbe vivimus? quam rempublicam habemus? Hîc, hîc sunt, in nostro numero, Patres Conscripti, in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de meo nostrûmque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeò orbis terrarum, exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de republicâ sententiam rogo: et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illâ nocte, Catilina: distribuisti partes Italiæ: statuisti, quò quemque proficisci placeret: delegisti, quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia: (confirmâsti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum:) dixisti paululum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quòd ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te istâ curâ liberarent, et sese, illâ ipsâ nocte, paulo ante lucem, me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur. Hæc ego omnia, vix dum etiam cœtu vestro dimisso, comperi: domum meam majoribus præsidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu manè ad me salutatum

miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram.

V. Quæ cùm ita sint, Catilina, perge, quò cœpisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimiùm diu te imperatorem illa tua Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos; si minùs, quàm plurimos: purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutiùs non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna Diis immortalibus habenda est gratia, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, tamque infestam reipublicæ, pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius in uno homine salus summa periclitanda reipublicæ. Quamdiu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privatâ diligentiâ, defendi. Cùm, proximis comitiis consularibus, me consulem in Campo, et competitores tuos, interficere voluisti; compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publicè concitato. Denique, quotiescunque me petîsti, per me tibi obstiti; quanquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magnâ calamitate reipublicæ esse conjunctam. Nunc jam apertè rempublicam universam petis: templa Deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

Quare, quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii disciplinæque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo; faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in republicâ reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdudum hortor) exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina [reipublicæ]. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tuâ sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul hostem jubet: interrogas me, num in exsilium? Non jubeo: sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hâc urbe delectare possit? in quâ nemo est (extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum), qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non inusta vitæ tuæ est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non hæret [infamiæ]? quæ libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore, abfuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretîsses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem, prætulisti?

Quid verò? nuper, cùm, morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelerè hoc scelus cumulàsti? quod ego prætermìtto, et facile patior sileri, [ne in hâc civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse, aut non vindicata esse, videatur.] Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam reipublicæ, atque ad omnium nostrûm vitam salutemque, pertinent.

Potestne tibi hujus vitæ lux, Catilina, aut hujus cœli spiritus esse jucundus, cùm scias, horum esse neminem, qui nesciat, te, pridie Calendas Januarias, Lepido et Tullo consulibus, stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum, consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causâ, paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam, aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam reipublicæ obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto: neque enim sunt aut obscura, aut non multa pòst commissa. Quoties tu me designatum, quoties consulem, interficere conatus es? quot ego tuas petitiones, ita conjectas ut vitari non posse viderentur, parvâ quâdam declinatione, et (ut aiunt) corpore, effugi? Nihil agis, nihil assequeris, nihil moliris, quod mihi latere valeat in tempore; neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus? quoties verò excidit casu aliquo, et elapsa est? Tamen eâ carere diutiùs non potes: quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quòd eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc verò, quæ tua est ista vita? sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordiâ, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo antè in senatum. Quis te, ex hâc tantâ frequentiâ, ex tot tuis amicis ac necessariis, salutavit? Si hoc, post hominum memoriam, contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, cùm sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quòd adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quòd omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi (mehercule) mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: [tu tibi urbem non arbitraris?] Et, si me meis civibus injuriâ suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quàm infestis

oculis omnium conspici, mallem: tu, cùm, conscientiâ scelerum tuorum, agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ullâ ratione placare posses; ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est omnium nostrûm parens, odit ac metuit, et jamdiu de te nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium sequere, neque vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodammodo tacita loquitur; "Nullum, aliquot jam annis, facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu, non solùm ad negligendas leges et quæstiones, verùm etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque, valuisti. Superiora illa, quanquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc verò me totam esse in metu propter te unum; quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri; nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem, discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."

VIII. Hæc si tecum (ut dixi) patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit? Quid? quòd tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quid? quòd, vitandæ suspicionis causâ, apud M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es; atque, ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogâsti. Cùm a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tutò esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur; ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti: a quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Marcellum, demigrâsti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vindicandum fortissimum, fore putâsti. Sed quàm longè videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodiâ judicaverit?

Quæ cùm ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hîc [morari] æquo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?

"Refer," inquis, "ad Senatum" (id enim postulas): et, si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit, te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam (id, quod abhorret a

meis moribus): et tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rempublicam metu: in exsilium (si hanc vocem exspectas) proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur; tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis?

At, si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem; jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo, senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cùm quiescunt, probant: cùm patiuntur, decernunt: cùm tacent, clamant: neque hi solùm, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima; sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, cæterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paulo antè exaudire, potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo; eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. Quanquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem Dii immortales duint! tametsi video, si, meâ voce perterritus, ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minùs in præsens tempus, recenti memoriâ scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem, impendeat. Sed est mihi tanti, dummodo ista privata sit calamitas, et a reipublicæ periculis sejungatur. Sed, tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, ut temporibus reipublicæ concedas, non est postulandum: neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore, revocârit. Quamobrem, (ut sæpe jam dixi) proficiscere: ac, si mihi, inimico (ut prædicas) tuo, conflare vis invidiam; rectà perge in exsilium. Vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium ieris jussu consulis, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere cum importunâ sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Manlium; concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis; infer patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos, îsse videaris.

Quanquam quid ego te invitem? a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati; sciam pactam et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem: a

quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam (quam tibi ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido et funestam futuram, cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit) sciam esse præmissam. Tu ut illâ diutiùs carere possis, quam venerari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? a cujus altaribus sæpe istam impiam dextram ad necem civium transtulisti.

X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quò te jampridem tua ista cupiditas effrænata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi hæc res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem: ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modò otium, sed ne bellum quidem, nisi nefarium, concupîsti. Nactus es, ex perditis, atque ab omni non modò fortunâ, verùm etiam spe derelictis, conflatam improborum manum.

Hîc tu quâ lætitiâ perfruêre! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quantâ in voluptate bacchabere! cùm, in tanto numero tuorum, neque audies virum bonum quenquam, neque videbis. Ad hujus vitæ studium meditati illi sunt (qui feruntur) labores tui; jacere humi, non modò ad obsidendum stuprum, verùm etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare, non solùm ad insidiandum somno maritorum, verùm etiam bonis occisorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam præclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium; quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, cùm te a consulatu repuli, ut exsul potiùs tentare, quàm consul vexare, rempublicam posses; atque ut id, quod esset a te sceleratè susceptum, latrocinium potiùs quàm bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc, ut a me, Patres Conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer; percipite (quæso) diligenter, quæ dicam; et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi vitâ meâ multò est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis respublica loquatur: "M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiêris, ut abs te non emissus ex Urbe, sed immissus in Urbem, esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari, imperabis? Quid tandem impedit te? mosne majorum? at persæpe etiam privati in hac republicâ perniciosos cives morte multârunt: an leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatæ sunt? at nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a republicâ defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis

times? præclaram verò populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nullâ commendatione majorum, tam maturè ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si, propter invidiam aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiæ metus, num est vehementiùs severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia, quàm inertiæ ac nequitiæ, pertimescenda? An, cùm bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiæ incendio conflagratùrum?"

XII. His ego sanctissimis reipublicæ vocibus, et eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus, pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu judicarem, Patres Conscripti, Catilinam morte multari; unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine, non modò se non contaminàrunt, sed etiam honestârunt; certè mihi verendum non erat, ne quid, hoc parricidâ civium interfecto, invidiæ mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quòd si ea mihi maximè impenderet; tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam, putarem.

Quanquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminent, non videant; aut ea, quæ vident, dissimulent; qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem, non credendo, corroboraverunt. Quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solùm improbi, verùm etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter, et regiè factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quò intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto, intelligo hanc reipublicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi, posse. Quòd si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eòdem cæteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit; exstinguetur atque delebitur, non modò hæc tam adulta reipublicæ pestis, verùm etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. Etenim jamdiu, Patres Conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur: sed, nescio quo pacto, omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatûs tempus erupit. Quòd si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur; videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus curâ et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitùs in venis atque in visceribus reipublicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cùm æstu feb-

rique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primò relevari videntur, deinde multò graviùs vehementiùsque afflictantur; sic hic morbus, qui est in republicâ, relevatus istius pœnâ, vehementiùs, vivis reliquis, ingravescet.

Quare, Patres Conscripti, secedant improbi; secernant se a bonis; unum in locum congregentur; muro denique (id, quod sæpe jam dixi) secernantur a nobis: desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque, quid de republicâ sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, Patres Conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut, Catilinæ profectione, omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata, esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summâ reipublicæ salute et cum tuâ peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem, quibus hæc urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus; quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii verè nominamus; hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris cæterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac mœnibus, a vitâ fortunisque civium omnium, arcebis: et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ, scelerum fœdere inter se ac nefariâ societate conjunctos, æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

ORATIO II.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audaciâ, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefariè molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel, ipsum egredientem, verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nul-

la jam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum, hujus belli domestici ducem, sine controversiâ vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur: non in Campo, non in foro, non in curiâ, non denique intra domesticos parietes, pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cùm est ex urbe depulsus: palàm jam cum hoste, nullo impediente, bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem, magnificèque vicimus, cùm illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. Quòd verò non cruentum mucronem (ut voluit) extulit, quòd vivis nobis egressus est, quòd ei ferrum de manibus extorsimus, quòd incolumes cives, quòd stantem urbem reliquit; quanto tandem illum mœrore afflictum esse et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit; et retorquet oculos profectò sæpe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget; quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quòd tantam pestem evomuerit, forasque projecerit.

II. At, si quis est talis (quales esse omnes oportebat), qui, in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quòd tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potiùs, quàm emiserim; non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interemptum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum, jampridem oportebat; idque a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et res publica postulabat. Sed quàm multos fuisse putatis, qui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? quàm multos, qui, propter stultitiam, non putarent? quàm multos, qui etiam defenderent? quàm multos, qui, propter improbitatem, faverent? Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem; jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modò invidiæ meæ, verùm etiam vitæ, periculo sustulissem. Sed cùm viderem, (ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probatâ) si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multâssem, fore, ut ejus socios, invidiâ oppressus, persequi non possem; rem huc deduxi, ut tum palàm pugnare possetis, cùm hostem apertè videretis.

Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quàm vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quòd illud etiam molestè fero, quòd ex Urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit; quem amare in prætextâ [calumniâ] cœperat; Publicium et Munatium, quorum æs alienum, contractum in popinâ, nullum reipublicæ motum afferre poterat: reliquit, quos viros! quanto alieno ære! quàm valentes! quàm nobiles!

III. Itaque ego illum exercitum, præ Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magnoperè contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuriâ, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere, quàm illum exercitum, maluerunt; quibus ego non modò si aciem exercitûs nostri, verùm etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire; qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpurâ, mallem secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hîc permanent, mementote, non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quàm hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quòd, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui Apulia sit attributa, qui habeat Etruriam, qui agrum Picenum, qui Gallicum, qui sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorum depoposcerit: omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me delata esse sentiunt: patefeci in senatu hesterno die. Catilina ipse pertimuit; profugit: hi quid exspectant? næ illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse apertè conjurationem contra rempublicam videretis; nisi verò si quis est, qui Catilinæ similes cum Catilinâ sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant; proficiscantur; ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aureliâ viâ profectus est: si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rempublicam, si quidem hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno (mehercule) Catilinâ exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata respublica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis totâ Italiâ veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus, inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilinâ non familiarissimè vixisse fateatur? Quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam verò quæ tanta in ullo unquam homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissimè, aliorum amori flagitiosissimè serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentûm, non modò impellendo, verùm etiam adjuvando, pollicebatur.

Nunc verò quàm subitò, non solùm ex Urbe, verùm etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo, non modò Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiæ, oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus adsciverit.

V. Atque, ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis; nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulò ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur; nemo in scenâ levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem propè sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus, frigore, et fame, et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur, cùm industriæ subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis, in libidine audaciâque consumerentur.

Hunc verò si sui fuerint comites secuti; si ex Urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges; o nos beatos! o rempublicam fortunatam! o præclaram laudem consulatûs mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanæ ac tolerandæ audaciæ: nihil cogitant, nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt: fortunas suas abligurrierunt: res eos jampridem, fides deficere nuper cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantiâ, libido permanet. Quòd si in vino et aleâ comissationes solùm et scorta quærerent; essent illi quidem desperandi; sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc verò quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui, mihi, accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, confecti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis cædem bonorum, atque Urbis incendia.

Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod; et pœnas, jamdiu improbitati, nequitiæ, sceleri, libidini debitas, aut instare jam planè, aut certè jam appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit; non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa sæcula, propagârit reipublicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus: nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terrâ marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiæ sunt: intus inclusum periculum est: intus est hostis. Cum luxuriâ nobis, cum amentiâ, cum scelere, certandum est. Huic ego me bello, Quirites, profiteor ducem; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quæ sanari poterunt, quâcunque ratione sanabo: quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad

perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant, aut quiescant; aut, si et in Urbe et in eâdem mente permanent, ea, quæ merentur, exspectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. Homo videlicet timidus et permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit; ivit.

Hesterno die, cùm domi meæ penè interfectus essem, senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris vocavi: rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quò cùm Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potiùs ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hîc ego, vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quæsivi a Catilinâ, an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisset, necne. Cùm ille, homo audacissimus, conscientiâ convictus, primò reticuisset, patefeci cætera. Quid eâ nocte egisset, [ubi fuisset,] quid in proximam constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cùm hæsitaret, cùm teneretur, quæsivi, quid dubitaret eò proficisci, quò jampridem parârat; cùm arma, cùm secures, cùm fasces, cùm tubas, cùm signa militaria, cùm aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam. In exsilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim (credo) Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Fesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit: et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant: et ille, ejectus in exsilium, se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra, conferet.

VII. O conditionem miseram, non modò administrandæ, verùm etiam conservandæ, reipublicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis, circumclusus ac debilitatus, subitò pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli, iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit; non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus meâ diligentiâ, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule, vi et minis esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum; me, non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum, existimari velint. Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dum-

modo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sanè ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium: sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego a Diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causâ, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, atque in armis volitare, audiatis: sed triduo tamen audietis: multòque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quòd illum emiserim potiùs, quàm quòd ejecerim. Sed, cùm sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent?

Quanquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur, quàm verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium, quàm ad Massilienses, ire malit. Ille autem, si (meherculè) hoc, quod agit, nunquam antè cogitâsset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet, quàm exsulem vivere. Nunc verò, cùm ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quòd vivis nobis Româ profectus est; optemus potiùs, ut eat in exsilium, quàm queramur.

VIII. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem; et quem, quia (quod semper volui) murus interest, non timeo; de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo, quàm sanare, et ipsos placare reipublicæ: neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam.

Unum genus est eorum, qui, magno in ære alieno, majores etiam possessiones habent; quarum amore adducti, dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima (sunt enim locupletes), voluntas verò et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familiâ, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis; et dubites de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? bellum? quid? ergo, in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? errant, qui istas a Catilinâ exspectant. Meo beneficio tabulæ novæ proferentur, verùm auctionariæ: neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, aliâ ratione ullâ salvi esse possunt. Quòd si maturiùs facere voluissent, neque (id quod stultissimum est) certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum; et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines

minime puto pertimescendos, quòd aut deduci de sententiâ possunt; aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rempublicam, quàm arma laturi.

IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui, quanquam premuntur ære alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant; rerum potiri volunt; honores, quos quietâ republicâ desperant, perturbatâ consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod cæteris omnibus, ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: primùm omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere reipublicæ: deinde, magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum; Deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi, contra tantam vim sceleris, præsentes auxilium esse laturos. Quòd si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti; num illi, in cinere urbis, et sanguine civium (quæ mente conscelerată ac nefariâ concupierunt), se consules ac dictatores, aut etiam reges, sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti fuerint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse?

Tertium genus est ætate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum; quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis quas [Fesulis] Sulla constituit; quas ego universas civium esse optimorum, et fortissimorum virorum, sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se, in insperatis repentinisque pecuniis, sumptuosiùs insolentiùsque jactârunt. Hi, dum ædificant, tanquam beati, dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis, delectantur, in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. Qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, homines tenues atque egentes, in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque, Quirites, in eodem genere prædatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere, ac proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modò homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passuræ esse videantur.

X. Quartum genus est sanè varium, et mixtum, et turbulentum; qui jampridem premuntur; qui nunquam emergent; qui, partim inertiâ, partim malè gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus, in vetere ære alieno vacillant: qui, vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum, defatigati, permulti et ex Urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quàm inficiatores lentos, esse

arbitror. Qui homines, primùm, si stare non possunt, corruant; sed ita, ut non modò civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, si vivere honestè non possunt, perire turpiter velint; aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quàm si soli pereant, arbitrentur.

Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilinâ non revoco: nam neque divelli ab eo possunt: et pereant sanè in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos capere carcer non possit.

Postremum autem genus est, non solùm numero, verùm etiam genere ipso atque vitâ, quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo verò de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes, aut benè barbatos, videtis; manicatis et talaribus tunicis; velis amictos, non togis: quorum omnis industria vitæ, et vigilandi labor, in antelucanis cœnis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique, versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati, non solùm amare et amari, neque cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare, et spargere venena, didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in republicâ seminarium [Catilinarium] futurum. Veruntamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his præsertim jam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives, perferent? nisi idcirco se faciliùs hiemem toleraturos putant, quòd nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt. O bellum magnoperè pertimescendum, cùm hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam!

XI. Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ copias, vestra præsidia vestrosque exercitus: et primùm gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde, contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiæ ac robur educite. Jam verò urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinæ tumulis silvestribus. Neque verò cæteras copias, ornamenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopiâ atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed, si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamus, eget ille, (senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, vectigalibus, cunctâ Italiâ, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus) si, his rebus omissis, ipsas causas, quæ inter se confligunt, contendere velimus; ex eo ipso, quàm valdè illi jaceant, intelligere possumus.

Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo; hinc continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes, certant cum iniquitate, cum luxuriâ, cum ignaviâ, cum temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus: postremò, copiæ cum egestate, bona ratio cum perditâ, mens sana cum amentiâ, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione, confligit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prœlio, nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, Dii ipsi immortales cogent, ab his præclarissimis virtutibus, tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. Quæ cùm ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut Urbi, sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu, satis esset præsidii, consultum ac provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturnâ excursione Catilinæ, facilè urbes suas finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum et certissimam fore putavit, (quanquam meliore animo sunt, quàm pars patriciorum) potestate tamen nostrâ continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego, prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanum Picenumque præmisi, aut opprimet hominem, aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

Nunc illos, qui in Urbe remanserunt, atque adeò qui contra Urbis salutem omniumque vestrûm, in Urbe a Catilinâ relicti sunt, quanquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem; mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portæ custos, nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt. Qui verò in Urbe se commoverit, cujus ego non modò factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam, deprehendero; sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. Atque hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maximæ minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum, post hominum memoriam

crudelissimum ac maximum, me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed, si vis manifestæ audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum, me necessariò de hac animi lenitate deduxerint; illud profectò perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut ne quis bonus intereat, paucorumque pœnâ vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis.

Quæ quidem ego, neque meâ prudentiâ neque humanis consiliis fretus, polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis et non dubiis Deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul (ut quondam solebant) ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hîc præsentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta, defendunt: quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terrâ marique superatis, à perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

ORATIO III.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. Rempublicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrûm, bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die, Deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculisque meis, ex flammâ atque ferro, ac penè ex faucibus fati ereptam, et vobis conservatam ac restitutam, videtis. Et, si non minùs nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies quibus conservamur, quàm illi quibus nascimur (quòd salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta conditio, et quòd sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur); profectò, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulum, ad Deos immortales benevolentiâ famâque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem

hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac mœnibus, subjectos propè jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus: iidemque gladios in rempublicam destrictos retudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris [dejecimus.] Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me; vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites; ut et quanta, et quàm manifesta, et quâ ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis, [ex actis] scire possitis.

Principiò ut Catilina paucis antè diebus erupit ex Urbe, cùm sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romæ reliquisset: semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum, in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis, salvi esse possemus.

II. Nam tum, cùm ex Urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cùm illa magis sit timenda, quòd vivus exierit) sed tum, cùm illum exterminari volebam; aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore, putabam. Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romæ remansisse; in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem; ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestræ provideretis, cùm oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque, ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum, belli Transalpini et tumultûs Gallici excitandi causâ, a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives, eodemque itinere, cum literis mandatisque, ad Catilinam, esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum Vulturcium, atque huic datas esse ad Catilinam literas; facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut (quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam a Diis immortalibus) tota res, non solùm a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis, manifestò deprehenderetur.

Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum, prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos reipublicæ viros, ad me vocavi: rem omnem exposui: quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, (qui omnia de republicâ præclara atque egregia sentirent) sine recusatione, ac sine ullâ morâ, negotium susceperunt; et, cùm advesperasceret, occultè ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt; atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartitò fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eòdem autem et ipsi, sine cujusquam suspicione, multos fortes viros educe-

runt, et ego ex præfecturâ Reatinâ complures delectos adolescentes, quorum operâ in re publicâ assiduè utor, præsidio cum gladiis miseram. Interim tertiâ ferè vigiliâ exactâ, cùm jam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unâque Vulturcius; fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii, et a nostris. Res erat prætoribus nota solis: ignorabatur a cæteris.

III. Tum, interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæcunque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis, prætoribus traduntur: ipsi, comprehensi, ad me, cùm jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem, Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur P. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus. Tardissimè autem Lentulus venit, credo, quòd, literis dandis, præter consuetudinem, proximâ nocte vigilârat.

Cùm verò summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, auditâ re, frequentes ad me manè convenerant, literas a me priùs aperiri, quàm ad senatum deferri, placeret; ne, si nihil esset inventum, temerè a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur; negavi me esse facturum, ut, de periculo publico, non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent; tamen ego non arbitrabar, in tantis reipublicæ periculis, mihi esse nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium, prætorem, fortem virum, misi, qui, ex ædibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis: fidem ei publicam, jussu senatûs, dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ sciret, sine timore indicaret. Tum ille, cùm vix se ex magno timore recreâsset, dixit, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, ut servorum præsidio uteretur, et ad Urbem quamprimùm cum exercitu accederet: id autem eo consilio, ut, cùm Urbem omnibus ex partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque infinitam civium fecissent; præstò esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cùm his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli, jusjurandum sibi et literas a P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt; atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quamprimùm mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas: Lentulum autem sibi confirmâsse ex fatis Sibyllinis

aruspicumque responsis, se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus Urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse, fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus Urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum cæteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quòd Lentulo et aliis, cædem Saturnalibus fieri, atque Urbem incendi, placeret; Cethego nimiùm id longum videri.

V. Ac, ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primùm ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, quæ eorum legatis confirmâsset, esse facturum: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulò antè aliquid de gladiis ac sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque, se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientiâ convictus, repentè conticuit.

Introductus Statilius cognovit signum et manum suam. Recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem ferè sententiam: confessus est.

Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo; et quæsivi, cognosceretne signum. Annuit. Est verò, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unicè patriam et cives suos; quæ quidem te a tanto scelere, etiam muta, revocare debuit. Leguntur eâdem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ: si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primò quidem negavit: pòst autem aliquantò, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis: quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Vulturcio. Qui cùm illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum, quotiesque, venissent, quæsîssentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus; tum ille subitò, scelere demens, quanta conscientiæ vis esset, ostendit. Nam, cùm id posset inficiari, repentè, præter opinionem omnium, confessus est: ita eum, non modò ingenium illud, et dicendi exercitatio, quâ semper valuit, sed etiam, propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, quâ superabat omnes, improbitasque, defecit.

Vulturcius verò subitò proferri literas atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissimè perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum suum et manum cognovit. Erant autem scriptæ sine nomine,

sed ita : QUI SIM, EX EO QUEM AD TE MISI, COGNOSCES. CURA, UT VIR SIS ; ET, QUEM IN LOCUM SIS PROGRESSUS, COGITA ; ET VIDE, QUID JAM TIBI SIT NECESSE. CURA, UT OMNIUM TIBI AUXILIA ADJUNGAS, ETIAM INFIMORUM. Gabinius deinde introductus, cùm primò impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum nihil, ex iis quæ Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cùm illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio, tum multò illa certiora, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se aspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi, viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summâ re publicâ quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ullâ varietate est consecutus. Et, quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatûs-consultum, ex memoriâ vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primùm mihi gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quòd virtute, consilio, providentiâ meâ, respublica periculis sit maximis liberata : deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus, prætores, quòd eorum operâ forti fidelique usus essem, meritò ac jure laudantur, atque etiam viro forti, collegæ meo, laus impertitur, quòd eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et reipublicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cùm se præturâ abdicâsset, tum in custodiam traderetur ; itemque utì C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes præsentes erant, in custodiam traderentur : atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendæ Urbis depoposcerat ; in M. Cæparium, cui, ad sollicitandos pastores, Apuliam esse attributam, erat indicatum ; in P. Furium, qui est ex his colonis, quos Fesulas L. Sulla deduxit ; in Q. Manlium Chilonem, qui, unâ cum hoc Furio, semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus ; in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primùm Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque eâ lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut, ex tantâ conjuratione, tantâque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium, novem hominum perditissimorum pœnâ, republicâ conservatâ, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur.

Atque etiam supplicatio Diis immortalibus, pro singulari eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites ; quod mihi primùm, post hanc urbem conditam, togato contigit : et his decreta verbis est, QUÒD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVES, ITA-

LIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. Quæ supplicatio, si cum cæteris conferatur, Quirites, hoc intersit, quòd cæteræ benè gestâ, hæc una, conservatâ republicâ, constituta est.

Atque illud, quod faciendum primùm fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quanquam, (patefactus indiciis et confessionibus suis) judicio senatûs, non modò prætoris jus, verùm etiam civis, amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit; ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quominùs C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, prætorem occideret, eâ nos religione, in privato P. Lentulo puniendo, liberaremur.

VII. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes spes atque opes, his depulsis Urbis periculis, concidisse. Quem quidem ego cùm ex Urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilinâ, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem, pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus Urbis continebatur. Omnia nôrat, omnium aditus tenebat: appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat. Erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. Jam, ad certas res conficiendas, certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque verò, cùm aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat: nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat.

Hunc ego, hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem, (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites) non facilè hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque, tantò antè, exitii et fati diem reipublicæ denuntiâsset; neque commisisset, ut signum, ut literæ suæ testes denique manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur: quæ nunc, illo absente, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privatâ domo furtum unquam sit tam palàm inventum, quàm hæc tanta in republicâ conjuratio manifestò inventa atque deprehensa est. Quòd si Catilina in Urbe ad hanc diem remansisset; quanquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen (ut levissimè dicam) dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset; neque nos unquam, dum ille in Urbe hostis fuisset, tantis periculis rempublicam, tantâ pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, liberâssemus.

VIII. Quanquam hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut Deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cùm conjecturâ consequi possumus, (quòd vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse); tum verò ita præsentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos penè oculis videre possemus. Nam, ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab Occidente faces ardoremque cœli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus, ut cætera, quæ tam multa, nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere Dii immortales viderentur; hoc certè, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque prætermittendum, neque relinquendum est.

Nam profectò memoriâ tenetis, Cottâ et Torquato consulibus, complures in Capitolio res de cœlo esse percussas, cùm et simulacra Deorum immortalium depulsa sunt, et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et legum æra liquefacta. Tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus; quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore, cùm aruspices ex totâ Etruriâ convenissent, cædes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi Dii immortales, omni ratione placati, suo numine propè fata ipsa flexissent.

Itaque, illorum responsis, tunc et ludi decem per dies facti sunt; neque res ulla, quæ ad placandum Deos pertineret, prætermissa est: iidemque jusserunt, simulacrum Jovis facere majus, et in excelso collocare, et, contrà atque antè fuerat, ad Orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum, et forum, curiamque conspiceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quæ clàm essent inita contra salutem Urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud ita collocandum consules illi locaverunt: sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut, neque a superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem, collocaretur.

IX. Hîc quis potest esse, Quirites, tàm aversus a vero, tam præceps, tam mente captus, qui neget, hæc omnia, quæ videmus, præcipuèque hanc urbem, Deorum immortalium nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim, cùm esset ita responsum, cædes, incendia, interitumque reipublicæ comparari, [et ea per cives,] quæ tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur; ea non modò cogitata a nefariis civibus, verùm etiam suscepta, esse sensis-

tis. Illud verò nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cùm, hodierno die manè, per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et eorum indices, in ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato, atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia et senatus, et vos, quæ erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis.

Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solùm vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam Deorum templis atque delubris, sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati: quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam, et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia perveni. Jam verò illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, sic a Lentulo cæterisque domesticis hostibus, tanta res, tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque literæ nunquam essent profectò, nisi a Diis immortalibus huic tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid verò? ut homines Galli, ex civitate malè pacatâ, (quæ gens una restat, quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur) spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent; id non divinitus factum esse putatis? præsertim qui nos, non pugnando, sed tacendo, superare potuerunt?

X. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores Diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profectò justiores nunquam. Erepti enim ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione, togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, neque solùm eas quas audîstis, sed et has quas vosmet ipsi meministis et vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit; ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis; multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius, consul, armis ex Urbe collegam suum expulit: omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario. Tum verò, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriæ crudelitatem postea Sulla; nec dici quidem opus est, quantâ

diminutione civium, et quantâ calamitate reipublicæ. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus reipublicæ luctum, quàm cæterorum.

Atque illæ dissensiones erant hujusmodi, Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam, rempublicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam èsse rempublicam, sed, in eâ quæ esset, se esse principes; neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere, voluerunt. Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium reipublicæ quæsivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut, non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecione civium, dijudicatæ sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum suâ gente gessit, (quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilinâ, Cassio, Cethego constituta, ut omnes, qui salvâ urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur) ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini: et, cùm hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putâssent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset; et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo, præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, mònumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique hujusmodi, quod etiam minùs digni assequi possint. Memoriâ vestrâ, Quirites, nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem Urbis, et ad memoriam consulatûs mei [propagatam:] unoque tempore in hac republicâ duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii, non terræ, sed cœli, regionibus terminaret; alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. Sed, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non est eadem fortuna atque conditio, quæ illorum qui externa bella gesserunt; quòd mihi cum his vivendum sit, quos vici ac subegi; isti hostes aut interfectòs aut oppressos reliquerint; vestrum est, Quirites, si cæteris sua facta prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est, providere. Quan-

quam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam ab istis noceri potest: magnum enim est in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna est in republicâ dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis est conscientiæ, quam qui negligent, cùm me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt.

Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modò nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quòd si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, quâ conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se, pro salute vestrâ, obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi, quid est, quod jam ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim cùm neque in honore vestro, neque in gloriâ virtutis, quidquam videam altius, quò quidem mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profectò, Quirites, ut ea, quæ gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia in conservandâ republicâ suscepta, lædat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in republicâ tractabo, ut meminerim semper quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu, gesta esse videantur.

Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrûm; atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quanquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen, æquè ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutiùs faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetuâ pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

ORATIO IV.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. Video, Patres Conscripti, in me omnium vestrûm ora atque oculos esse conversos: video, vos, non solùm de vestro ac reipublicæ, verùm etiam (si id depulsum sit) de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis, et grata in dolore, vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam (per Deos immor-

tales, quæso) deponite; atque, obliti salutis meæ, de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi quidem si hæc conditio consulatûs data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque, perferrem; feram non solùm fortiter, sed etiam libenter, dummodo, meis laboribus, vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.

Ego sum ille consul, Patres Conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur; non Campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune perfugium; non lectus, ad quietem datus; non denique hæc sedes honoris, unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui; multa pertuli; multa concessi; multa meo quodam dolore, in vestro timore, sanavi.

Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatûs mei Dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, Patres Conscripti, populumque Romanum, ex cæde miserâ, conjuges liberosque vestros, virginesque Vestales, ex acerbissimâ vexatione; templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrûm, ex fœdissimâ flammâ; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate, eriperem; quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem reipublicæ fore putavit; cur ego non læter, meum consulatum ad salutem reipublicæ propè fatalem exstitisse?

II. Quare, Patres Conscripti, consulite vobis; prospicite patriæ; conservate vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras; populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere, ac de me cogitare, desinite. Nam primùm debeo sperare, omnes Deos, qui huic urbi præsident, pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relaturos grâtiam esse. Deinde, si quid obtigerit, æquo animo paratoque moriar. Neque enim turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi præsentis mœrore non movear, horumque omnium lacrymis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis: neque meam mentem non domum sæpe revocat exanimata uxor, abjecta metu filia, et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti respublica, tanquam obsidem consulatûs mei; neque ille, qui, exspectans hujus exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, ut salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si vis aliqua me oppresserit, potiùs quàm et illi et nos unâ reipublicæ peste pereamus.

Quare, Patres Conscripti, incumbite ad reipublicæ salutem:

circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, qui iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit; non C. Gracchus, qui agrarios concitare conatus est; non L. Saturninus, qui C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod, atque in vestræ severitatis judicium, adducitur. Tenentur ii, qui, ad Urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romæ restiterunt. Tenentur literæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio: sollicitantur Allobroges; servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo, ne ad deplorandum quidem reipublicæ nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem, relinquatur.

III. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt; vos multis jam judiciis judicâstis: primùm, quòd mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis; et, meâ virtute atque diligentiâ, perditorum hominum patefactam esse conjurationem decrevistis; deinde, quòd P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret præturâ, coëgistis; tum quòd eum, et cæteros, de quibus judicâstis, in custodiam dandos censuistis; maximèque, quòd meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis; qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini: postremò, hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturcio, dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatìm dati sunt, sine ullâ dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

Sed ego institui referre ad vos, Patres Conscripti, tanquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis, et de pœnâ, quid censeatis. Illa prædicam, quæ sunt consulis.

Ego magnum in republicâ versari furorem, et nova quædam misceri et concitari mala, jampridem videbam: sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus, nunquam putavi. Nunc, quidquid est, quòcunque vestræ mentes inclinant atque sententiæ, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latiùs opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit, non solùm per Italiam, verùm etiam transcendit Alpes; et, obscurè serpens, multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quâcunque ratione placet celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. Video duas adhuc esse sententias; unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos, qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos: alteram C. Cæsaris, qui mortis pœnam removet, cæterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque, et pro suâ dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine, in

summâ severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum, vitâ privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vitâ, et hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere; atque hoc genus pœnæ sæpe in improbos cives in hac republicâ esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit, mortem a Diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causâ constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturæ, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem esse. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes etiam sæpe libenter, oppetiverunt. Vincula verò, et ea sempiterna, certè ad singularem pœnam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare. Decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causâ statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare.

Adjungit gravem pœnam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: horribiles custodias circumdat; et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit: ne quis eorum pœnam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum, levare possit: eripit etiam spem, quæ sola hominem in miseriis consolari solet. Bona præterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus; quam si eripuisset, [multos,] uno dolore, animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum pœnas, ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vitâ formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt; quòd videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, Patres Conscripti, ego, meâ, video, quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris; quoniam hanc is in republicâ viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minùs erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiæ, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram; nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas reipublicæ vincat. Habemus enim a C. Cæsare (sicut ipsius dignitas, et majorum ejus amplitudo, postulabat) sententiam, tanquam obsidem perpetuæ in rempublicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem concionatorum, et animum verè popularem, saluti populi consulentem.

Video, de istis qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit, et indices hesterno

die maximis præmiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quæsitori gratulationem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de totâ re et causâ judicârit. At verò C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui autem reipublicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse; denique ipsum latorem legis Semproniæ, injussu populi, pœnas reipublicæ dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cùm de pernicie populi Romani, et exitio hujus urbis, tam acerbè tamque crudeliter cogitârit, appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisque mandare: et sancit in posterum, ne quis, hujus supplicio levando, se jactare, et in [perniciè] populi Romani posthac popularis esse, possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. Quamobrem, sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem, populo carum atque jucundum: sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facilè me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis; atque obtinebo, eam multò leviorem fuisse. Quanquam, Patres Conscripti, quæ potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate puniendâ crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam, ita mihi salvâ republicâ vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quòd in hac causâ vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quâdam humanitate et misericordiâ. Videor enim mihi hanc urbem videre, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subitò uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo, sepultâ in patriâ, miseros atque insepultos acervos civium: versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi, et furor, in vestrâ cæde bacchantis. Cùm verò mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum (sicut ipse se ex fatis sperâsse confessus est), purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam; tum lamentationem matrumfamilias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem virginum Vestalium, perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque præbeo. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisâ, incensâ domo, supplicium de servis non quàm acerbissimum sumpserit; utrùm is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus, esse videatur? mihi verò importunus ac ferreus, qui non, dolore ac cruciatu nocentis, suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos, in his hominibus,

qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros, trucidare voluerunt; qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrûm domos, et hoc universum reipublicæ domicilium, delere conati sunt; qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii, collocarent; si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis crudelitatis in patriæ civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est.

Nisi verò cuipiam L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus reipublicæ, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cùm sororis suæ, fœminæ electissimæ, virum præsentem et audientem, vitâ privandum esse dixit, cùm avum jussu consulis interfectum, filiùmque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit: quorum, quod simile factum? quod initum delendæ reipublicæ consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in republicâ versata est, et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summâ re publicâ minueretur: hic, ad evertenda fundamenta reipublicæ, Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat; attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, cæteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. Veremini, (censeo) ne, in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, nimis aliquid severè statuisse videamini; cùm multò magis sit verendum, ne, remissione pœnæ, crudeles in patriam, quàm ne, severitate animadversionis, nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes, fuisse videamur.

VII. Sed ea quæ exaudio, Patres Conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii, ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigenda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, Patres Conscripti, cùm meâ summâ curâ atque diligentiâ, tum multò etiam majore populi Romani, ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætatum: plenum est forum, plena templa circa forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi. Causa enim est, post Urbem conditam, hæc inventa sola, in quâ omnes sentirent unum atque idem, præter eos, qui, cùm sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potiùs quàm soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter: neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium, numero

habendos puto. Cæteri verò (Dii immortales!) quâ frequentiâ, quo studio, quâ virtute, ad communem dignitatem salutemque consentiunt! Quid ego hîc equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore reipublicæ certent; quos, ex multorum annorum dissensione ad hujus ordinis societatem concordiamque revocatos, hodiernus dies vobiscum, atque hæc causa, conjungit; quam conjunctionem si, in consulatu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in republicâ tenuerimus; confirmo vobis, nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam reipublicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ reipublicæ convenisse video tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos; quos cùm casu hæc dies ad ærarium frequentâsset, video, ab exspectatione sortis, ad communem salutem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, cùm sit carum, tum verò dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operæ pretium est, Patres Conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere; qui, virtute suâ fortunam civitatis consecuti, hanc verè suam patriam esse judicant; quam quidam, hinc nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium, esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemorem, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos communis respublica, quos denique libertas ea, quæ dulcissima est, ad salutem patriæ defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modò tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc stare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet, et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, voluntatis.

Quare, si quem vestrûm fortè commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem cœptum atque tentatum: sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortunâ miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non ipsum illum sellæ atque operis et quæstûs quotidiani locum; qui non cubile ac lectulum suum; qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitæ suæ, salvum esse vellent. Multò verò maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt; immo verò (id enim potiùs est dicendum) genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii: etenim omne eorum instrumentum, omnis opera ac quæstus, frequentiâ civium sustinetur, alitur otio: quorum si

quæstus, occlusis tabernis, minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum est?

Quæ cùm ita sint, Patres Conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete.

IX. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis, atque ex mediâ morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram, reservatum: omnes ordines, ad conservandam rempublicam, mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce, consentiunt: obsessa facibus et telis impiæ conjurationis, vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestæ perpetuum ac sempiternum, vobis omnia templa Deorum atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta, commendat. Præterea de vestrâ vitâ, de conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum animâ, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est.

Habetis ducem, memorem vestri, oblitum sui; quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum (id, quod in civili causâ hodierno die primùm videmus) unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quantâ virtute stabilitam libertatem, quantâ Deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas, una nox penè delêrit. Id ne unquam posthac, non modò confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio penè præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum; sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in republicâ princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X. Nunc, antè quàm [Patres Conscripti] ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse judico turpem et infirmam, contemptam et abjectam. Quòd si aliquandò, alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit, quàm vestra ac reipublicæ dignitas; me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres Conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitæ tantam laudem, quantâ vos me vestris decretis honestâstis, nemo est assecutus. Cæteris enim semper benè gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ, reipublicæ gratulationem decrevistis.

Sit Scipio clarus, ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque ex Italiâ decedere, coactus est:

ornetur alter eximiâ laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit: habeatur vir egregius L. Paulus, ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus, Perses, honestavit: sit in æternâ gloriâ Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profectò, inter horum laudes, aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ; nisi fortè majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quò exire possimus, quàm curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quò victores revertantur.

Quanquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriæ, quàm domesticæ; quòd hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementiâ aliquâ depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos, cùm a pernicie reipublicæ repuleris, nec vi coërcere, nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video: quod ego, vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriâque tantorum periculorum, (quæ non modò in hoc populo qui servatus est, sed etiam in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus, semper hærebit) a me atque a meis facilè propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profectò tanta vis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium, perfringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quæ cùm ita sint, Patres Conscripti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provinciâ, quam neglexi, pro triumpho, cæterisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me, propter Urbis vestræque salutis custodiam, repudiata; pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quàm comparo; pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandam rempublicam diligentiâ, nihil aliud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei consulatûs memoriam, postulo; quæ dum erit vestris mentibus infixa, firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitrabor. Quòd si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit; commendo vobis parvum meum filium; cui profectò satis erit præsidii, non solùm ad salutem, verùm etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hæc omnia suo solus periculo conservaverit, illum esse filium memineritis.

Quapropter, de summâ salute vestrâ, populique Romani, Patres Conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris

ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute Italiæ, deque universâ republicâ, decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere, et per se ipsum præstare, possit.

ORATIO

PRO LEGE MANILIA.

I. Quanquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multò jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites; tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maximè patuit, non mea me voluntas, sed meæ vitæ rationes, ab ineunte ætate susceptæ, prohibuerunt. Nam cùm antea, per ætatem, nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem; statueremque, nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industriâ, afferri oportere; omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis qui vestram causam defenderent; et meus labor, in privatorum periculis castè integrèque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cùm, propter dilationem comitiorum, ter prætor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facilè intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, cùm et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu propè quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre; certè, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, eâ apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et, si quid etiam dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimùm, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, quòd, in hac insolitâ mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in quâ oratio deesse nemini potest. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiâque

virtute: hujus autem orationis difficilius est exitum quàm principium invenire: ita mihi non tam copia, quàm modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. Atque, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde hæc omnis causa ducitur; bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane; quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi, ad occupandam Asiam, oblatam esse arbitratur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asiâ quotidie literæ, quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatæ; qui ad me, pro necessitudine quæ mihi est cum illo ordine, causam reipublicæ periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucullum, magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti; eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, præterea neminem.

Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primùm mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo, esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maximè vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad studium persequendi debeat. Agitur enim populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis a majoribus, cùm magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in re militari, tradita est: agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro quâ multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt: aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima; quibus amissis, et pacis ornamenta, et subsidia belli, requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis, et ipsorum et reipublicæ causâ, consulendum.

III. Et, quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter cæteras gentes, atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta; quæ penitus jam insedit atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quòd is, qui uno die, totâ Asiâ, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modò adhuc pœnam nullam, suo dignam scelere, suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat; et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto, neque Cappadociæ latebris, occultare velit, sed emergere e patrio

regno, atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiæ luce, versari. Etenim adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriæ, non victoriam, reportarent. Trimphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores: sed ita triumphârunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Veruntamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quòd egerunt; venia danda, quòd reliquerunt; propterea quòd ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam respublica, Murenam Sulla, revocavit.

IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi, contulit: qui, posteaquam maximas ædificâsset ornâssetque classes; exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex gentibus potuisset, comparâsset, et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simulâsset; usque in Hispaniam legatos Ecbatanis misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus: ut, cùm duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximèque diversis, uno consilio, a binis hostium copiis bellum terrâ marique gereretur, vos, ancipiti contentione districti, de imperio dimicaretis.

Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ multò plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in alterâ parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa gestarum rerum magna atque præclara, non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti; hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper acciderunt, non culpæ, sed fortunæ, tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco; et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostrâ, neque falsa afficta, esse videatur. De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloriâ, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meæ, videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores vestri sæpe, mercatoribus ac naviculariis injuriosiùs tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, tot civium Romanorum millibus, uno nuntio atque uno tempore, necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quòd erant appellati superbiùs, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Græciæ lumen, exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem, vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum, necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis, verbo violatum, illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum, omni supplicio interfectum, relinquetis? Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit, tantam

vobis imperii gloriam relinquere; sic vobis turpissimum sit, illud, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid, quòd salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes, rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent duo reges toti Asiæ, non solùm vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Græcia, vestrum auxilium exspectare, propter periculi magnitudinem, coguntur: imperatòrem a vobis certum deposcere, cùm præsertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent, neque id se facere summo sine periculo posse arbitrantur.

Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propè esse (quo etiam carent ægriùs), cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam liberè loqui non licet, tacitè rogant, ut se quoque, sicut cæterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis; atque hoc etiam magis quàm cæteros, quòd ejusmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multùm ab hostili expugnatione differant. Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident, tantâ temperantiâ, tantâ mansuetudine, tantâ humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissimè commoratur.

VI. Quare, si propter socios, nullâ ipsi injuriâ lacessiti, majores vestri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis, cum Pœnis bella gesserunt; quanto vos studio convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem unâ cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere; præsertim cùm de vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur! Nam cæterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis, ad ipsas provincias tutandas, vix contenti esse possimus: Asia verò tam opima est et fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum quæ exportantur, facilè omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non modò a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis, est defendenda.

Nam, cæteris in rebus, cùm venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at, in vectigalibus, non solùm adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse, affert calamitatem. Nam, cùm hostium copiæ non longè absunt, etiamsi irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen pecora relinquuntur; agricultura deseritur; mercatorum na-

vigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scripturâ, vectigal conservari potest. Quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, atque uno belli terrore, amittitur.

Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut eos qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos qui exercent atque exigunt, cùm duo reges cum maximis copiis propè adsint? cùm una excursio equitatûs perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit; cùm publicani familias maximas, quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur. Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructuosi sunt, conservaveritis, non solùm (ut antea dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine, liberatos?

VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cùm essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis, pro vestrâ sapientiâ, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt; quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ curæ vobis esse debent. Etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse reipublicæ semper duximus; eum certè ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum cæterorum ordinum rectè esse dicemus.

Deinde cæteris ex ordinibus homines navi et industrii partim ipsi in Asiâ negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis; partim suas et suorum in eâ provinciâ pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate prohibere; sapientiæ, videre, multorum civium calamitatem a republicâ sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoriâ recuperare. Neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas, propter timorem.

Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates, initio belli Asiatici, docuit; id quidem certè, calamitate docti, memoriâ retinere debemus. Nam tum cùm in Asiâ res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus, Romæ, solutione impeditâ, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt unâ in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rempublicam, et mihi credite, (id, quod ipsi videtis) hæc fides, atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu

concidant.) Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium, cum republicâ defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maximè laborandum est, ne fortè a vobis, quæ diligentissimè providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur.

Atque, ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo tantum impertiri laudis, quantum forti viro, et sapientissimo homini, et magno imperatori, debeatur; dico, ejus adventu, maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse; urbemque Asiæ clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maximâ multitudine, et oppugnatam vehementissimè; quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ, ducibus Sertorianis, ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam: magnas hostium præterea copias multis prœliis esse deletas: patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antè populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset: Sinopen atque Amisum (quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornata atque referta), cæterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociæ permultas, uno aditu atque adventu esse captas: regem, spoliatum regno patrio atque avito, ad alios se reges atque alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque hæc omnia, salvis populi Romani sociis, atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis; atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causæ, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, cùm hæc ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites: non enim hoc sine causâ quæri videtur. Primùm, ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea* illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam prædicant, in fugâ, fratris sui membra in iis locis, quâ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens, maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello superiore ex totâ Asiâ direptas, in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia

diligentiùs, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia, retardavit.

Hunc, in illo timore et fugâ, Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatæ sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque tentandas putavit. Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causâ in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et prœliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum, commovebatur.

Hîc jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quàm processio longior, quæreretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmârat; et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventiciis multorum regum et nationum, copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facilè multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximèque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quòd regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam, cùm se in regnum recipisset suum, non fuit eo contentus quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit.

Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut poëtæ solent, qui res Romanas scribunt) præterire me nostram calamitatem; quæ tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex prœlio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor, afferret. Hîc, in ipso illo malo, gravissimâque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliquâ ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, (quòd imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo putavistis) partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa prætereo consultò: sed ea vos conjecturâ perspicitis, quantum illud bellum [futurum] putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatæ nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, novus imperator vester accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu.

X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bellum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, ac tantis rebus præficiendo, dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimùm tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis! Nunc verò, cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modò eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam, virtute superârit; quæ res est, quæ cujusquam animum in hac causâ dubium facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui, e ludo atque pueritiæ disciplinâ, bello maximo, atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum, atque in militiæ disciplinam, profectus est; qui extremâ pueritiâ miles fuit summi imperatoris; ineunte adolescentiâ maximi ipse exercitûs imperator; qui sæpiùs cum hoste conflixit, quàm quisquam cum inimico concertavit; plura bella gessit, quàm cæteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quàm alii concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris, non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis, est erudita. Quod denique genus belli esse potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna reipublicæ? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solùm gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu militari positam quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam verò virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ potest par oratio inveniri? quid est, quod quisquam aut dignum illo, aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum, possit afferre? Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes imperatoriæ, quæ vulgò existimantur, labor in negotio, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo; quæ tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt.

Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. Testis est Sicilia, quam, multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii, explicavit. Testis est Africa, quæ, magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit.

Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione, patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et sæpius Italia, quæ, cùm servili bello tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit; quod bellum exspectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes verò jam omnes oræ, atque omnes exteræ gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis [oris] omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cùm aut hieme, aut referto prædonum mari, navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam latè divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore, confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quàm multas existimatis insulas esse desertas! quàm multas aut metu relictas, aut a prædonibus captas, urbes esse sociorum!

XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani longè a domo bellare, et, propugnaculis imperii, sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta, defendere. Sociis ego vestris mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, cùm exercitus nostri a Brundisio nunquam, nisi summâ hieme, transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cùm legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cùm duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum, aut Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias, captas esse commemorem, cùm vestros portus, atque eos portus quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An verò ignoratis, portum Caietæ celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, inspectante prætore, a prædonibus esse direptum; ex Miseno autem, ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum, atque illam labem atque ignominiam reipublicæ, querar; cùm, propè inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani præpositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro, Dii immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tem-

pore lucem afferre reipublicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium prædonum navem esse audiatis? Atque, hæc quâ celeritate gesta sint, quanquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo prætereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam, aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quæstûs studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere, potuit, quàm celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus navigavit? qui, nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari, Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit; inde Sardiniam cum classe venit; atque hæc tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicæ firmissimis præsidiis classibusque munivit. Inde cùm se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Galliâ Cisalpinâ præsidiis ac navibus confirmatâ, missis item in oram Illyrici maris, et in Achaïam omnemque Græciam, navibus, Italiæ duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque præsidiis adornavit: ipse autem, ut a Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique prædones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, cùm ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longè latèque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extremâ hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, mediâ æstate confecit.

XIII. Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid cæteræ, quas paulò antè commemorare cœperam, quantæ atque quàm multæ sunt! Non enim solùm bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quærenda est; sed multæ sunt artes eximiæ, hujus administræ comitesque virtutis. Ac, primùm, quantâ innocentiâ debent esse imperatores! quantâ deinde omnibus in rebus temperantiâ! quantâ fide! quantâ facilitate! quanto ingenio! quantâ humanitate! Quæ, breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites: sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione, quàm ipsa per sese, cognosci atque intelligi possunt.

Quem enim possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint? quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publicâ cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario deprompta ad bellum administrandum, aut, propter cupiditatem provinciæ, magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romæ in quæstu re-

liquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui hæc fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino: quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui antè de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas calamitates, quòcunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quæ per hosce annos in Italiâ per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum faciliùs statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrùm plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an, hibernis, sociorum civitates, esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipsum non continet; neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult.

Hîc miramur, hunc hominem tantùm excellere cæteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerunt, ut non modò manus tanti exercitûs, sed ne vestigium quidem, cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam verò, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac literæ perferuntur. Non modò, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur; sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiæ, perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. Age verò, cæteris in rebus quali sit temperantiâ, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? non enim illum eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt: sed hæ res, quæ cæteros remorari solent, non retardârunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremò, signa, et tabulas, cæteraque ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ cæteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum, intuentur: nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ; quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile, ac falsò memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ majores suos tum, cùm hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quàm imperare aliis, maluisse.

Jam verò ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimoniæ de aliorum injuriis, esse dicuntur; ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate par infimis esse videatur. Jam, quantùm consilio, quantùm dicendi gravitate et copiâ valeat, (in quo ipso inest quædam dignitas imperatoria) vos, Quirites, hoc ipso in loco sæpe cognôstis. Fidem verò ejus inter socios quantam existimari putatis, quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam judicârint? Humanitate jam tantâ est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrùm hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui, ad omnia nostræ memoriæ bella conficienda, divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. Et, quoniam auctoritas multùm in bellis quoque administrandis atque imperio militari valet; certè nemini dubium est, quin eâ re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii, de imperatoribus vestris existiment, quis ignorat, cùm sciamus, homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, opinione non minùs famæ, quàm aliquâ certâ ratione, commoveri? Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine, vos (id, quod maximè facit auctoritatem) tanta et tam præclara judicia fecistis?

An verò ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quò non illius diei fama pervaserit, cùm universus populus Romanus, referto foro, repletisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantùm auctoritas valeat in bello; ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello præpositus est imperator, tanta repentè vilitas annonæ, ex summâ inopiâ et caritate rei frumentariæ, consecuta est, unius spe et nomine, quantam vix ex summâ ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset.

Jam, acceptâ in Ponto calamitate, ex eo prœlio, de quo vos paulò antè invitus admonui, cùm socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium provincia non haberet; amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi, ad id ipsum temporis, divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolitâ inflammatum victoriâ continuit, et Tigranem,

magnis copiis minitantem Asiæ, retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quàm facilè imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. Age verò, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quòd ex locis tam longinquis, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore, omnes uni huic se dediderunt? quòd Cretensium legati, cùm in eorum insulâ noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas propè terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem iste Mithridates, nonne, ad eundem Cn. Pompeium, legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eumque Pompeius legatum semper judicavit: ii, quibus semper erat molestum, ad eum potissimùm esse missum, speculatorem, quàm legatum, judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis, magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantùm apud illos reges, quantùm apud exteras nationes, valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut æquum est homini de potestate Deorum, timidè et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et cæteris magnis imperatoribus, non solùm propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profectò quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad res magnas benè gerendas, divinitus adjuncta fortuna: de hujus autem hominis felicitate, quo de nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam èsse dicam, sed ut præterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur; ne aut invisa Diis immortalibus oratiò nostra, aut ingrata, esse videatur.

Itaque non sum prædicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res domi militiæque, terrâ marique, quantâque felicitate gesserit: ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modò cives assenserint, socii obtemperârint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundârint. Hoc brevissimè dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui a Diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas Dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cùm communis salutis

atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causâ, (sicuti facitis) velle et optare debetis.

Quare, cùm et bellum ita necessarium sit, ut negligi non possit; ita magnum, ut accuratissimè sit administrandum; et cùm ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna; dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis a Diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rempublicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

XVII. Quòd si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore; tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, cùm ad cæteras summas utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit; quid exspectamus? aut cur non, ducibus Diis immortalibus, eidem, cui cætera, summâ cum salute reipublicæ, commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committimus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicæ, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimùm valuisse, et valere oportere, confiteor; sed in hac causâ, tametsi cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsâ re et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem; atque hoc faciliùs, quòd ea omnia, quæ adhuc a me dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse, et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia.

Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sunt, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium; sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multò magis quàm verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, pro tuâ summâ copiâ ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra virum fortem A. Gabinium, graviter ornatèque dixisti, cùm is de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgâsset; et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. Quid? tum (per Deos immortales!) si plùs apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quàm ipsius populi Romani salus, et vera causa, valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam, atque hoc orbis terræ imperium, teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cùm populi Romani legati, prætores, quæs-

toresque capiebantur? cùm, ex omnibus provinciis commeatu, et privato et publico, prohibebamur? cùm ita clausa erant nobis omnia maria, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam, neque publicam, jam obire possemus?

XVIII. Quæ civitas antea unquam fuit, (non dico Atheniensium, quæ satis latè quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Carthaginiensium, qui permultùm classe maritimisque rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit) quæ civitas unquam antea tam tenuis, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ non portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque oræ maritimæ, per se ipsa defenderet? At (hercle) aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam, ille populus Romanus, cujus, usque ad nostram memoriam, nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, magnâ ac multò maximâ parte non modò utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii, caruit: nos, quorum majores Antiochum regem classe Persenque superârunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam prædonibus pares esse poteramus. Nos quoque, qui antea non modò Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos præstare poteramus; tum, cùm insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Ægæo mari posita, quò omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebat; iidem non modò provinciis, atque oris Italiæ maritimis, ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appiâ jam viâ carebamus: et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani, in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cùm eum vobis majores vestri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus, et cæteros qui erant in eâdem sententiâ, dicere existimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis: sed tamen, in salute communi, idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quàm auctoritati vestræ, obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modò nos illâ miseriâ ac turpitudine liberavit; sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando verè videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terrâ marique imperare.

Quo mihi etiam indigniùs videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? (id, quod est verius) ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti? Utrùm ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, cùm cæteri,

ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriæ ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitûs, qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cœlius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus (quos omnes honoris causâ nomino), cùm tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabiniâ geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per [vos] ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? de quo legando, spero consules ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt, aut gravabuntur; ego me profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cujusquam, Quirites, inimicum edictum, quominùs, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam: neque, præter intercessionem, quidquam audiam; de quâ (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Meâ quidem sententiâ, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimi rerumque gestarum auctor, comes Cn. Pompeio adscribitur: propterea quòd alter uni id bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententiâ dicendum esse videatur. Qui cùm ex vobis quæreret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri; cepit magnum suæ virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, cùm omnes, propè unâ voce, in eo ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute conficere, possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissimè dissentio, quòd quo minùs certa est hominum ac minùs diuturna vita, hoc magis respublica, dùm per Deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vitâ atque virtute.

At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum. Non dico hoc loco, majores nostros semper, in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati, paruisse; semper, ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodâsse: non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta; duas urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maximè minabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum-

Jugurthâ, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis, bellum administraret. In ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quàm multa sint nova, summâ Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid enim tam novum, quàm adolescentulum, privatum, exercitum difficili reipublicæ tempore conficere? confecit: huic præesse? præfuit: rem optimè ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quàm homini peradolescenti, cujus a senatorio gradu ætas longè abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari? Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in eâ administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentiâ, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africâ maximum confecit; victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid verò tam inauditum, quàm equitem Romanum triumphare? at eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modò vidit, sed etiam omni studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quàm ut, cùm duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore, cùm esset nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret, "Non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule;" L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, "Non se illum suâ sententiâ pro consule, sed pro consulibus, mittere." Tanta in eo reipublicæ benè gerendæ spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quàm ut, ex senatûs-consulto, legibus solutus, consul antè fieret, quàm ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quàm ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatûs-consulto triumpharet? Quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quàm hæc, quæ in hoc uno homine vidimus. Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta, ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli, atque a cæterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum, auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate vobis comprobatam semper esse; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populique Romani auctoritatem, improbari: præsertim cùm jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem, vel contra omnes qui dissentiunt, possit defendere; propterea quòd, istis reclamantibus, vos unum, illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonum præponeretis. Hoc si vos temerè fecistis, et rei publicæ parum con-

suluistis; rectè isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur. Sin autem vos plus tum in re publicâ vidistis; vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum, attulistis; aliquando isti principes, et sibi et cæteris, populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur.

Atque, in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solùm militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asiâ, Ciliciâ, Syriâ, regnisque interiorum nationum, ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, quàm de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde, etiam siqui sunt pudore ac temperantiâ moderatiores; tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eos per hos annos cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ requiruntur, quibus causa belli, propter diripiendi cupiditatem, inferatur. Libenter hæc coràm cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio disputarem, summis et clarissimis viris. Noverunt enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum calamitates: querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an, hostium simulatione, contra socios atque amicos? Quæ civitas est in Asiâ, quæ non modò imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum, animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam siquem habetis, qui, collatis signis, exercitus regios superare posse videatur; tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazâque regiâ, manus, oculos, animum, cohibere possit; non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quæ locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium, non solùm propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam, requisivit. Videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari quotannis pecuniâ publicâ, præter paucos, neque nos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, quâ cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis,

quibus conditionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? quasi verò Cn. Pompeium non, cùm suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis, magnum esse videamus.

Quare, nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quòd si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis; est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius; cujus tantæ res gestæ terrâ marique exstiterunt, ut, cùm de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat: est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentiâ præditus: est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus, summum consilium, summam gravitatem, esse cognoscitis: est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantiâ singulari. Quare, videte, ut, horum auctoritatibus, illorum orationi qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quæ cùm ita sint, C. Manili, primùm istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, vehementissimèque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, auctore populo Romano, maneas in sententiâ, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primùm, in te satis esse animi perseverantiæque arbitror: deinde, cùm tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantum nunc iterum in eodem homine præficiendo videmus; quid est, quòd aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate, dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hac potestate prætoriâ, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantiâ possum; id omne, ad hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano polliceor et defero. Testorque omnes Deos, et eos maximè qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maximè perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quò Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem; neque quò mihi, ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut præsidia periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus, quæram; propterea quòd pericula facilè, ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentiâ tecti, repellemus: honores autem neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eâdem nostrâ illâ laboriosissimâ ratione vitæ, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur.

Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causâ mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne me reipublicæ causâ suscepisse confirmo:

tantùmque abest, ut aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut multas etiam simultates, partim obscuras, partim apertas, intelligam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. Sed ego me, hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem, et reipublicæ dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

ORATIO

PRO M. MARCELLO.

1. Diuturni silentii, Patres Conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundiâ, finem hodiernus dies attulit; idemque initium, quæ vellem, quæque sentirem, meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam, inauditamque clementiam, tantum, in summâ potestate, rerum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac penè divinam, tacitus nullo modo præterire possum. M. enim Marcello vobis, Patres Conscripti, reique publicæ reddito, non solùm illius, sed meam etiam vocem et auctoritatem, et vobis et reipublicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto.

Dolebam enim, Patres Conscripti, et vehementer angebar, cùm viderem, virum talem, in eâdem causâ in quâ ego fuissem, non in eâdem esse fortunâ: nec mihi persuadere poteram, nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in nostro veteri curriculo, illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite, distracto. Ergo et mihi meæ pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar, interclusam aperuisti; et his omnibus, ad benè de omni republicâ sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. Intellectum est enim, mihi quidem in multis, et maximè in me ipso, sed paulò antè omnibus, cùm M. Marcellum senatui populoque Romano concessisti, commemoratis præsertim offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque reipublicæ, tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferre.

Ille quidem fructum omnis vitæ anteactæ hodierno die maximum cepit, cùm summo consensu senatûs, tum præterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profectò intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cùm in accepto tanta sit gloria. Est verò fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor penè ad omnes, quàm ad ipsum ventura sit, lætitia pervenerit. Quod ei quidem meritò, atque optimo jure, contigit. Quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentiâ, aut ullo genere laudis, præstantior?

II. Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen affirmo (et hoc pace dicam tuâ), nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem, quàm eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum, res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero prœliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri: nec verò disjunctissimas terras citiùs cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quàm tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis, lustratæ sint.

Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certè, in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus, multùm juvant: maximam verò partem, quasi suo jure, Fortuna sibi vindicat; et, quidquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum.

At verò hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulò antè adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, quantumcunque est, (quod certè maximum est) totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex istâ laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma, decerpit. Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert: tibi cedit: tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientiâ commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. Domuisti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abun-

dantes: sed tamen ea vicisti, quæ naturam et conditionem ut vinci possent, habebant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quæ non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modò extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejùs pristinam dignitatem; hæc qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur illæ quidem non solùm nostris, sed penè omnium gentium, literis atque linguis; neque ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet. Sed tamen ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo, etiam cùm leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At verò, cùm aliquid clementer, mansuetè, justè, moderatè, sapienter factum, (in iracundiâ præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoriâ, quæ naturâ insolens et superba est) aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incendimur, non modò in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos sæpe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! Te verò, quem præsentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum reipublicæ fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? quâ benevolentiâ complectemur? Parietes, medius fidius, (ut mihi videntur) hujus curiæ, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quòd brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

IV. Equidem, cùm C. Marcelli, viri optimi et commemorabili pietate præditi, lacrymas modò vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum pectus memoria [obfudit.] Quibus tu etiam mortuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam reddidisti; nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad paucos redactam, penè ab interitu vindicâsti. Hunc tu igitur diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratulationibus jure antepones. Hæc enim res unius est propria Cæsaris: cæteræ, duce te gestæ, magnæ illæ quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. Hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es, et comes: quæ quidem tanta est, ut tropæis monumentisque tuis allatura finem sit ætas (nihil enim est opere aut manu factum, quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat vetustas): at verò hæc tua justitia et lenitas animi florescet quotidie magis, ita ut, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum afferat laudibus. Et cæteros quidem omnes victores bellorum civilium jam antè æquitate et misericordiâ viceras: hodierno verò die te ipsum vicisti. Vereor, ne hoc, quod,

dicam, non perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ipse cogitans sentio. Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cùm ea, quæ illa erat adepta, victis remisisti. Nam, cùm ipsius victoriæ conditione jure omnes victi occidissemus, clementiæ tuæ judicio conservati sumus. Rectè igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriæ conditio visque devicta est.

V. Atque hoc C. Cæsaris judicium, Patres Conscripti, quam latè pateat, attendite: omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo reipublicæ misero funestoque compulsi, etsi aliquâ culpâ tenemur erroris humani, a scelere certè liberati sumus. Nam, cùm M. Marcellum, deprecantibus vobis, reipublicæ conservavit; memet mihi, et iterum reipublicæ, nullo deprecante, reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et patriæ, reddidit: quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis. Non ille hostes induxit in curiam; sed judicavit, a plerisque, ignoratione potiùs, et falso atque inani metu, quàm cupiditate aut crudelitate, bellum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello semper de pace audiendum putavi; semperque dolui, non modò pacem, sed orationem etiam civium, pacem flagitantium, repudiari. Neque enìm ego illa, nec ulla unquam, secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ socia, non belli atque armorum, fuerunt. Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico: tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nullâ, non modò cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem, prudens et sciens, tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.

Quod quidem meum consilium minimè obscurum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine, integrâ re, multa de pace dixi: et in ipso bello eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo, sensi. Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum [existimator,] qui dubitet, quæ Cæsaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cùm pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, cæteris fuerit iratior. Atque id minùs mirum fortasse tum, cùm esset incertus exitus, et anceps fortuna belli: qui verò, victor, pacis auctores diligit, is profectò declarat, se maluisse non dimicare, quàm vincere.

VI. Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, vidi, cùm insolentiam certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius victoriæ ferocitatem, extimescentem! Quò gratior tua libertas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. Non enim jam causæ sunt inter se, sed victoriæ, comparandæ. Vidimus tuam victoriam prœliorum exitu terminatam: gladi-

um vaginâ vacuum in Urbe non vidimus. Quos amisimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam ex eâdem acie conservat, quos potest. Alterius verò partis, nihil amplius dicam, quàm (id, quod omnes verebamur) nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. Quidam enim, non modò armatis, sed interdum etiam otiosis, minabantur: nec, quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur Dii immortales, (etiam si pœnas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverint) vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando, omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono; et fruere, cùm fortunâ et gloriâ, tum etiam naturâ et moribus tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. Cætera cùm tua recordabere, etsi persæpe virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati, tuæ congratulabere. De nobis, quos in republicâ tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientiâ tuâ, cogitabis: quæ non modò summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude verâ, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut hæc a virtute donata, cætera a fortunâ commodata esse videantur. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aut pravitate aliquâ lapsis, sed opinione officii, stultâ fortasse, certè non improbâ, et specie quâdam reipublicæ. Non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt: contràque, summa laus, quòd plerique minimè timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. Nunc verò venio ad gravissimam querelam, et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam; quæ non tibi ipsi magis, quàm, cùm omnibus civibus, tum maximè nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero esse falsam, nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus, quàm parum prudens. Sed quisnam est iste tam demens? de tuisne? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quàm quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex eo numero, qui unà tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. [At,] si tui nihil cogitant sceleris, cavendum est, ne quid inimici. Qui? omnes enim, qui

fuerunt, aut suâ pertinaciâ vitam amiserunt, aut tuâ misericordiâ retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut, qui superfuerunt, sint amicissimi.

Sed tamen, cùm in animis hominum tantæ latebræ sint et tanti recessus, augeamus sanè suspicionem tuam: simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publicâ, tam nihil unquam nec de suâ nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat, tuâ salute contineri suam, et ex unius tuâ vitâ pendere omnium? Equidem, de te dies noctesque (ut debeo) cogitans, casus duntaxat humanos, et incertos eventus valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, extimesco: doleoque, cùm respublica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis animâ consistere. Si verò, ad humanos casus, incertosque eventus valetudinis, sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensio; quem Deum, si cupiat, opitulari posse reipublicæ credamus?

VIII. Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, uni, quæ jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu (quod necesse fuit) perculsa atque prostrata: constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda soboles: omnia, quæ dilapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, tantoque animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata respublica, quicunque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis suæ: multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri prohibuisset. Quæ quidem tibi omnia belli vulnera curanda sunt; quibus, præter te, mederi nemo potest.

Itaque illam tuam præclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audivi: "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel gloriæ." Satis, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si placet, gloriæ: at (quod maximum est) patriæ certè parum. Quare, omitte, quæso, istam doctorum hominum in contemnendâ morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo sapiens esse. Sæpe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud nimis crebrò dicere, satis te tibi vixisse. Credo: sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses. Nunc, cùm omnium salutem civium cunctamque rempublicam res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint; tantùm abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quæ cogitas, nondum jeceris. Hîc tu modum vitæ tuæ, non salute reipublicæ, sed æquitate animi, definies? Quid, si istud ne gloriæ quidem tuæ satis est? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.

Parumne igitur, inquies, gloriam magnam relinquemus? Immo verò aliis, quamvis multis, satis; tibi uni parum. Quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id certè parum est tum, cùm est aliquid amplius. Quòd si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, devictis adversariis, rempublicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est; vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura, quàm gloriæ: siquidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum, vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum, fama meritorum.

IX. Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est; hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rempublicam constituas, eâque tu in primis [compositâ,] cum summâ tranquillitate et otio, perfruare: tum te, si voles, cùm et patriæ, quod debes, solveris, et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito. Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum; quod cùm venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est? Quanquam iste tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit; semperque immortalitatis amore flagravit.

Nec verò hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, illa, inquam, vita est tua, quæ vigebit memoriâ sæculorum omnium; quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes, oportet: quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jampridem multa habet; nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat. Obstupescent posteri certè, imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta innumera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos. Sed, nisi hæc urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modò nomen tuum longè atque latè; sedem quidem stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit, inter eos etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, magna dissensio, cùm alii laudibus ad cœlum res tuas gestas efferent, alii fortasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis incendium salute patriæ restinxeris; ut illud fati fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. Servi igitur iis etiam judicibus, qui multis pòst sæculis de te judicabunt, et quidem haud scio an incorruptiùs, quàm nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidiâ, judicabunt. Id autem etiam si tunc ad te (ut quidam falsò putant) non pertinebit; nunc certè pertinet, esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla unquam sit oblivio.

X. Diversæ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententiæ: non enim consiliis solùm et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris, dissidebamus. Erat autem obscuritas quædam, erat certamen inter clarissimos duces: multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expediret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. Perfuncta respublica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is, qui non fortunâ inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut morte dignos judicaret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui, armorum periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum; ut etiam ille sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causâ animam profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia, videri potest. Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, et exstincta æquitate victoris: restat, ut omnes unum velint, qui modò habent aliquid, non solùm sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in istâ sententiâ, quâ cùm antea, tum hodie vel maximè usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui hæc salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, ut vitæ, ut saluti, tuæ consulas: omnesque tibi, (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, quod de me ipse sentio) quoniam subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modò excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum, pollicemur.

XI. Sed, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio Maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar; majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt; quod ex omnium precibus et lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed, quia non est stantibus omnibus necesse dicere; a me certè dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quòd volunt, et quòd decet, et quòd (M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et reipublicæ reddito) [præcipuè id a me fieri debere] intelligo. Nam lætari omnes, non ut de unius solùm, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio: quod autem summæ benevolentiæ est, (quæ mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, præter eum quidem, cederem nemini) cùm id sollicitudine, curâ, labore tamdiu præstiterim, quamdiu est de illius salute dubitatum, certè hoc tempore, magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. Itaque, C. Cæsar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut, omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solùm, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, (quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar) maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accesserit.

ORATIO

PRO Q. LIGARIO.

I. Novum crimen, Cai Cæsar, et ante hunc diem inauditum, propinquus meus ad te, Q. Tubero, detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africâ fuisse: idque C. Pansa, præstanti vir ingenio fretus fortasse eâ familiaritate quæ est ei tecum, ausus est confiteri. Itaque, quò me vertam, nescio; paratus enim veneram, (cum tu id neque per te scirès, neque audire aliunde potuisses) ut ignoratione tuâ ad hominis miseri salutem abuterer: sed, quoniam diligentiâ inimici investigatum est, quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor; præsertim cùm meus necessarius, C. Pansa, fecerit, ut id jam integrum non esset: omissâque controversiâ, omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est; quâ plurimi sunt conservati, cùm a te non liberationem culpæ, sed errati veniam, impetravissent.

Habes igitur, Tubero, (quod est accusatori maximè optandum) confitentem reum, sed tamen ita confitentem, se in eâ parte fuisse, quâ te, Tubero, quâ virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque priùs de vestro delicto confiteamini, necesse est, quàm Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, cùm esset adhuc nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam cum C. Considio profectus est: quâ in legatione, et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens Considius provinciâ satisfacere hominibus non posset, si quenquam alium provinciæ præfecisset. Itaque Q. Ligarius (cùm, diu recusans, nihil profecisset) provinciam accepit invitus: cui sic præfuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas et fides. Bellum subitò exarsit; quod, qui erant in Africâ, antè audierunt geri, quàm parari. Quo audito, partim cupiditate inconsideratâ, partim cæco quodam timore, primò salutis, pòst etiam studii sui, quærebant aliquem ducem: cùm Ligarius, domum spectans, et ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim P. Attius Varus, qui prætor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam venit: ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille non mediocri cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium esse potuit, quod ad privatum, clamore multitudinis imperitæ

nullo publico consilio, deferebatur. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paulùm adventu Vari conquievit.

II. Adhuc, Cai Cæsar, Q. Ligarius omni culpâ vacat. Domo est egressus, non modò nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli: legatus in pace profectus, in provinciâ pacatissimâ ita se gessit, ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certè animum tuum non debet offendere. Num igitur remansio? Multò minùs: nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio etiam necessitatem honestam. Ergo hæc duo tempora carent crimine; unum, cùm est legatus profectus; alterum, cùm, efflagitatus a provinciâ, præpositus Africæ est. Tertium est tempus, quo, post adventum Vari, in Africâ restitit; quod si est criminosum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille, si potuisset illinc ullo modo evadere, Uticæ potiùs, quàm Romæ, cum P. Attio, quàm cum concordissimis fratribus, cum alienis esse, quàm cum suis, maluisset? Cùm ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset, propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic æquo animo esse potuit, belli discidio distractus a fratribus?

Nullum igitur habes, Cæsar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienæ a te voluntatis: cujus ego causam, animadverte, quæso, quâ fide defendam, cùm prodo meam. O clementiam admirabilem, atque omni laude, prædicatione, literis, monumentisque decorandam! M. Cicero apud te defendit, alium in eâ voluntate non fuisse, in quâ seipsum confitetur fuisse; nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit; nec, quid tibi, de alio audienti, de se ipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, quàm non reformidem: vide, quanta lux liberalitatis et sapientiæ tuæ mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur. Quantùm potero, voce contendam, ut populus hoc Romanus exaudiat. Suscepto bello, Cæsar, gesto etiam ex magnâ parte, nullâ vi coactus, judicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? nempe apud eum, qui, cùm hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, reipublicæ reddidit; qui ad me ex Ægypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuissem; qui, cùm ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est; a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansâ mihi nuntium perferente, concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi; qui mihi tum denique se salutem putavit dare, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset.

Vide, quæso, Tubero, ut, qui de meo facto non dubitem dicere, de Ligarii non audeam confiteri. Atque hæc propterea de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, cùm de se eadem dicerem, ignosceret: cujus ego industriæ gloriæque faveo, vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quòd ejus ingenio studiisque delector, vel quòd laudem adolescentis propinqui existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. Sed hoc quæro, quis putet esse crimen, fuisse in Africâ Ligarium? Nempe is, qui et ipse in eâdem Africâ esse voluit, et prohibitum se a Ligario queritur, et certè contra ipsum Cæsarem est congressus armatus. Quid enim, Tubero, destrictus ille tuus in acie Pharsalicâ gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens? oculi? manus? ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgeo: commoveri videtur adolescens: ad me revertar: iisdem in armis fui.

IV. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero nisi, ut quod hic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Cæsar, tuæ clementiæ laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio? Atque in hac causâ nonnihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam, sed multò magis patris tui, prudentiam desidero; quòd homo, cùm ingenio tum etiam doctrinâ excellens, genus hoc causæ quod esset, non viderit: nam, si vidisset, quovis profectò, quàm isto modo, a te agi maluisset.

Arguis fatentem. Non est satis. Accusas eum, qui causam habet, aut, ut ego dico, meliorem quàm tu, aut, ut tu vis, parem. Hæc non modò mirabilia sunt; sed prodigii simile est, quod dicam. Non habet eam vim ista accusatio, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur, sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo. Externi isti sunt mores: usque ad sanguinem incitari solet odium aut levium Græcorum, aut immanium barbarorum. Nam quid aliud agis? ut Romæ ne sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho, avunculo suo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum, vivat? ne sit in patriâ? Num est? num potest magis carere his omnibus, quàm caret? Italiâ prohibetur, exsulat. Non tu ergo hunc patriâ privare, quâ caret, sed vitâ, vis. At istud, ne apud eum quidem dictatorem, qui omnes, quos oderat, morte multabat, quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante: præmiis etiam invitabat. Quæ tamen crudelitas, ab eodem, aliquot annis pòst, quem nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

V. Ego verò istud non postulo, inquies. Ita (mehercle) existimo, Tubero: novi enim te; novi patrem; novi domum nomenque vestrum: studia denique generis ac familiæ vestræ, virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinæ, plurimarum artium atque optimarum, nota sunt mihi omnia. Itaque certò scio, vos non petere sanguinem: sed parum attenditis. Res enim eò spectat, ut eâ pœnâ, in quâ adhuc Q. Ligarius sit, non videamini esse contenti. Quæ est igitur alia, præter mortem? Si enim in exsilio est, sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur? hoc verò multò acerbius, multòque est durius. Quod nos domi petimus, precibus et lacrymis, prostrati ad pedes, non tam nostræ causæ fidentes, quàm hujus humanitati, id ne impetremus, pugnabis? et in nostrum fletum irrumpes? et nos, jacentes ad pedes, supplicum voce prohibebis?

Si, cùm hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus, et, ut spero, non frustra fecimus, tu derepentè irrupisses, et clamare cœpisses, "C. Cæsar, cave ignoscas; cave, te fratrum, pro fratris salute obsecrantium, misereatur;" nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi petimus, id a te in foro oppugnari! et, in tali miseriâ multorum, perfugium misericordiæ tollere!

Dicam planè, Cai Cæsar, quod sentio. Si, in hac tantâ tuâ fortunâ, lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines, (intelligo, quid loquar) acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria. Quàm multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, cùm etiam de victis reperiantur! quàm multi, qui, cùm a te nemini ignosci vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, cùm etiam ii, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te in alios esse misericordem!

Quòd si probare Cæsari possemus, in Africâ Ligarium omnino non fuisse; si honesto et misericordi mendacio saluti civis calamitosi consultum esse vellemus; tamen hominis non esset, in tanto discrimine et periculo civis, refellere et coarguere nostrum mendacium: et, si esset alicujus, ejus certè non esset, qui in eâdem causâ et fortunâ fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errare Cæsarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tum diceres, "Cave, Cæsar, credas: fuit in Africâ Ligarius; tulit arma contra te." Nunc quid dicis? "Cave ignoscas." Hæc nec hominis, nec ad hominem, vox est: quâ qui apud te, Cai Cæsar, utetur, suam citiùs abjiciet humanitatem, quàm extorquebit tuam.

VI. Ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis hæc, ut opinor, fuit; velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non du-

bito, quin admiratus sis, vel quòd de nullo alio quisquam, vel quòd is qui in eâdem causâ fuisset, vel quidnam novi facinoris afferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; alii, timorem; qui duriùs, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissimè, temeritatem: scelus, præter te, adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quæratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divinâ necessitate esse superata.

Liceat esse miseros: quanquam, hoc victore, esse non possumus. Sed non loquor de nobis: de illis loquor, qui occiderunt. Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris verò crimine, furoris, parricidii, liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis, carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Cæsar, audivit? aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt, nisi a te contumeliam propulsare? quid egit tuus ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur, et dignitatem tuam? Quid? tu, cùm pacem esse cupiebas, idne agebas, ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus, conveniret?

Mihi verò, Cæsar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certè non viderentur, si me, ut sceleratum, a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de republicâ benè meritus esses, si tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Cæsar, initio, non bellum; non hostile odium, sed civile dissidium; utrisque cupientibus rempublicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studiis, a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat penè par; non par fortasse eorum, qui sequebantur: causa tum dubia, quòd erat aliquid in utrâque parte, quod probari posset. nunc melior certè ea judicanda est, quam etiam Dii adjuverunt. Cognitâ verò clementiâ tuâ, quis non eam victoriam probet, in quâ occiderit nemo, nisi armatus?

VII. Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram. Utrùm tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligario ex Africâ exire, an vobis in Africam non venire? Poteramusne, inquis, cùm senatus censuisset? Si me consulis, nullo modo. Sed tamen Ligarium senatus idem legaverat. Atque ille eo tempore paruit, cùm parere senatui necesse erat: vos tum paruistis, cùm paruit nemo, qui noluit. Reprehendo igitur? minimè verò: neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi, nomini, familiæ, disciplinæ. Sed hoc

non concedo, ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis.

Tuberonis sors conjecta est ex senatûs-consulto, cùm ipse non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat excusare. Hæc ego novi propter omnes necessitudines quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone. Domi unâ eruditi, militiæ contubernales, pòst affines, in omni denique vitâ familiares: magnum etiam vinculum, quòd iisdem studiis semper usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse: sed ita quidam agebat, ita reipublicæ sanctissimum nomen opponebat, ut, etiam si aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset. Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri, vel potiùs paruit. Unâ est profectus cum iis, quorum erat una causa: tardiùs iter fecit: itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam. Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur, vel ira potiùs. Nam, si crimen est ullum voluisse, non minùs magnum est, vos Africam, omnium provinciarum arcem, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse, quàm aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere dicebat: fasces certè habebat. Sed, quoquo modo sese illud habet, hæc querela vestra, Tubero, quid valet? Recepti in provinciam non sumus. Quid, si essetis? Cæsarine eam tradituri fuissetis, an contra Cæsarem retenturi?

VIII. Vide, quid licentiæ, Cæsar, nobis tua liberalitas det, vel potiùs audaciæ. Si responderit Tubero, Africam, quò senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fuisse; non dubitabo, apud ipsum te, cujus id eum facere interfuit, gravissimis verbis ejus consilium reprehendere. Non enim si tibi ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata. Sed jam hoc totum omitto; non tam, ut ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures, quàm ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturus fuisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in Africam provinciam, unam ex omnibus huic victoriæ maximè infestam: in quâ erat rex potentissimus, inimicus huic causæ, aliena voluntas, conventus firmi atque magni. Quæro, quid facturi fuistis? quanquam, quid facturi fueritis, non dubitem, cùm videam, quid feceritis. Prohibiti estis in provinciâ vestrâ pedem ponere, et prohibiti (ut perhibetis) summâ cum injuriâ.

Quomodo id tulistis? acceptæ injuriæ querelam ad quem detulistis? nempe ad eum, cujus auctoritatem secuti, in societatem belli veneratis. Quòd si Cæsaris causâ in provinciam veniebatis; ad eum profectò, exclusi provinciâ,

venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quæ est ergo hæc apud Cæsarem querela, cùm eum accusatis, a quo queramini vos prohibitos contra Cæsarem bellum gerere? Atque in hoc quidem, vel cum mendacio si vultis gloriari, per me licet, vos provinciam fuisse Cæsari tradituros, etiam si a Varo et quibusdam aliis prohibiti essetis: ego autem confitebor culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tantæ laudis occasione privaverit.

IX. Sed vide, quæso, C. Cæsar, constantiam ornatissimi viri, L. Tuberonis: quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissem in primis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quæ fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? Constantiam dico? nescio, an meliùs patientiam possim dicere. Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus essetque etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eos ipsos rediret? Magni cujusdam animi, atque ejus viri esset, quem de susceptâ causâ, propositâque sententiâ, nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum, posset depellere. Ut enim cætera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent; honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ nequâquam fuerunt; hoc certè præcipuum Tuberonis fuit, quod justo cum imperio ex senatûs-consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus, non ad Cæsarem, ne iratus, non domum, ne iners, non aliquam in regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus esset, videretur; in Macedoniam, ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a quâ erat rejectus cum injuriâ. Quid? cùm ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis; languidiore (credo) studio in causâ fuistis: tantummodo in præsidiis eratis; animi verò a causâ abhorrebant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis, nec in vobis magis quàm in reliquis, omnes vincendi studio tenebamur? Pacis equidem semper auctor fui: sed tum serò. Erat enim amentis, cùm aciem videres, pacem cogitare. Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus: tu certè præcipuè, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses: quanquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriæ.

X. Hæc ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiæ vestræ, aut Cæsarem beneficii sui, pœniteret. Nunc quæro, utrùm vestras injurias, an reipublicæ, persequamini. Si reipublicæ, quid de vestrâ in eâ causâ perseverantiâ respondebitis? si vestras, videte, ne erretis, qui Cæsarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cùm ignoverit suis.

Itaque num tibi videor, Cæsar, in causâ Ligarii occupatus esse? num de ejus facto dicere? Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam referri volo vel humanitatis, vel clementiæ, vel misericordiæ tuæ. Causas, Cæsar, egi multas, et quidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum: certè nunquam hoc modo, "Ignoscite, judices: erravit; lapsus est; non putavit: si unquam posthac"....Ad parentem sic agi solet: ad judices, "Non fecit; non cogitavit; falsi testes; fictum crimen." Dic, te, Cæsar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse: quibus in præsidiis fuerit, quære. Taceo. Ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem: "Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo non acerbus, tum etiam totus animo et studio tuus." Ad judicem sic agi solet: sed ego ad parentem loquor; "Erravi; temerè feci; pœnitet: ad clementiam tuam confugio; delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro." Si nemo impetravit, arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, cùm mihi apud te sit locus etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quanquam neque in hac oratione spes est posita causæ, nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maximè spectares, cùm pro alicujus salute multi laborarent: causas apud te rogantium graviores esse, quàm vultus; neque spectare te, quàm tuus esset necessarius is qui te oraret, sed quàm illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi esse videantur interdum, qui tuâ liberalitate fruuntur, quàm tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedis. Sed video tamen, apud te causas (ut dixi) rogantium valere plus, quàm preces; ab iisque te moveri maximè, quorum justissimum dolorem videas in petendo.

In Q. Ligario conservando, multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis: sed hoc, quæso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos, tibi probatissimos, totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiæ ac robur reipublicæ, proponere. Nôsti optimè homines. Animadverte horum omnium mœstitiam et dolorem: hujus T. Brocchi (de quo non dubito quid existimes) lacrymas, squaloremque, ipsius et filii vides.

Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli, Cæsar, putare, de unius capite nos agere. Aut tres tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est optatius, quàm patria, quàm domus, quàm Dii penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraternè, si piè, si cum dolore,

faciunt; moveant te horum lacrymæ, moveat pietas, moveat germanitas: valeat tua vox illa, quæ vicit. Te enim dicere audiebamus, Nos, omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne igitur hunc splendorem, omnem hanc Brocchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Cæsetium, L. Corfidium, hosce omnes equites Romanos, qui adsunt veste mutatâ, non solùm notos tibi, verùm etiam probatos viros, tecum fuisse? Atque his irascebamur; hos requirebamus; his nonnulli etiam [minabamur.] Conserva igitur tuis suos; ut, quemadmodum cætera quæ dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.

XII. Quòd si penitùs perspicere posses concordiam Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italiâ esse potuisset, in eâdem sententiâ futurus fuerit, in quâ fratres fuerunt? Quis est, qui horum consensum conspirantem et penè conflatum, in hac propè æqualitate fraternâ, non novèrit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis priùs futurum fuisse, quàm ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptùs est unus; qui, si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti.

Sed ierit ad bellum: discesserit, non a te solùm, verùm etiam a fratribus: hi te orant tui. Equidem, cùm tuis omnibus negotiis interessem, memoriâ teneo, qualis T. Ligarius, quæstor urbanus, fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est, me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, (qui oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui) te, aliquid de hujus illo quæstorio officio cogitantem, etiam de aliis quibusdam quæstoribus reminiscentem, recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud (neque enim hæc divinabat) nisi ut tu eum studiosum tui et bonum virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit. Quam, hujus admonitus officio, cùm utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos, non solùm sibi ipsos, neque his tot ac talibus viris, neque nobis necessariis suis, sed etiam reipublicæ, condonaveris.

Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo M. Marcello fecisti nuper in curiâ, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiæ probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit; noli, obsecro,

dubitare, Cai Cæsar, similem illi gloriæ laudem quàm sæpissime quærere. Nihil est enim tam populare, quàm bonitas: nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordiâ est. Homines enim ad Deos nullâ re propiùs accedunt, quàm salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quàm ut possis, nec natura tua melius quàm ut velis, servare quàm plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certè natura breviorem. Quare, cùm utilius esse arbitrer, te ipsum, quàm aut me aut quenquam, loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantùm te ipsum admonebo, si illi absenti salutem dederis, præsentibus his omnibus te daturum.

ORATIO

PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

I. Cum, in omnibus causis gravioribus, Cai Cæsar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementiùs quàm videtur vel usus vel ætas mea postulare; tum in hac causâ ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat. Primùm, dico pro capite fortunisque regis: quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo; tamen est ita inusitatum, regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde, eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebam, pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rempublicam meritis, nunc, contra atrocissimum crimen, cogor defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate, conturber. Crudelem Castorem! ne dicam sceleratum et impium; qui nepos avum in discrimen capitis adduxerit, adolescentiæque suæ terrorem intulerit ei cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat; commendationemque ineuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit; qui servum, corruptum præmiis, ad accusandum dominum impulerit, et a legatorum pedibus abduxerit. Fugitivi autem, dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem, et dominum amicissimum nostræ reipublicæ, cùm os videbam, cùm verba

audiebam; non tam afflictam regiam conditionem dolebam quàm de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam, cùm, more majorum, de servo in dominum, ne tormentis quidem, quæri liceat (in quâ quæstione dolor veram vocem elicere possit etiam ab invito); exortus est servus, qui, quem in equuleo appellare non posset, eum accusaret solutus.

II. Perturbat me, Cai Cæsar, etiam illud interdum; quod tamen, cùm te penitùs recognovi, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, sed tuâ sapientiâ fit æquissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inîsse arguare, si per seipsum consideres, grave est: nemo enim ferè est, qui, sui periculi judex, non sibi se æquiorem quàm reo præbeat. Sed tua, Cai Cæsar, præstans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit. Non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quàm intelligo, quid de te cæteros velis judicare. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentiâ, quòd tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in quâ oratorum studia niti solent: in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque, acquiesco; te unum intueor: ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio: quæ mihi ad spem obtinendæ veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi, et ad omnem impetum dicendi, contentionemque, leviora.

Hanc enim, Cai Cæsar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non faveret, cujus omnem ætatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam; intuerer forum; cœlum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, cùm et Deorum immortalium, et populi Romani, et senatûs, beneficia in regem Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quæ quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actioque causæ maximè debilitatur loco; tuum est, Cæsar, qui pro multis sæpe dixisti, quid nunc mihi animi sit, ad te ipsum referre; quo faciliùs tum æquitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia, minuat hanc perturbationem meam.

Sed, antequam de accusatione ipsâ dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam: qui cùm videantur neque ingenio neque usu atque exercitatione rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliquâ spe et cogitatione, venerunt.

III. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii; affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis, propter offensionem animi tui, meminerant: teque cùm huic iratum

tum sibi amicum, cognoverant: cùmque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo facilè fictum crimen insideret. Quamobrem hoc nos primùm metu, Cai Cæsar, per fidem, et constantiam, et clementiam tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiæ suspicemur. Per dextram te istam oro, quam regi Deïotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti; istam, inquam, dextram, non tam in bellis et in prœliis, quàm in promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare, voluisti: te ejus Dii penates acceperunt: te amicum et placatum Deiotari regis aræ focique viderunt.

Cùm facilè exorari, Cæsar, tum semel exorari, soles. Nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te simultatis reliquias senserit. Quanquam cui sunt inauditæ cum Deiotaro querelæ tuæ? Nunquam tu illum accusavisti, ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quòd propensior in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset, quàm in tuam. Cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tantùm auxilia Pompeio, vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse excusatione ætatis usus esset. Ita, cùm maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam amicitiæ culpam relinquebas.

Itaque non solùm in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti: neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. Is rex, quem senatus hoc nomine sæpe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique illum ordinem ab adolescentiâ gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos, in mediâ republicâ nati, semperque versati.

IV. Cùm audiret, senatûs consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta; consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis, nobis imperatoribus, rempublicam defendendam datam; movebatur animo, et vir, huic imperio amicissimus, de salute populi Romani extimescebat, in quâ etiam suam inclusam videbat. In summo tamen timore, quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. Maximè verò perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italiâ p[illegible] omnesque consulares (sic enim nunciabatur), c[illegible]atum, totam Italiam esse effusam. Talibus e[illegible] et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem via; nec ulli v[illegible]bantur. Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil d[illegible]ncordiæ et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat ce[illegible]hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quæ cùm ita e[illegible]en usque eò se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio ad eum [illegible] literæque venerunt.

Ignosce, ignosce, Cæsar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus: in quem cùm Dii atque homines omnia ornamenta congessissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima. Neque enim, si tuæ res gestæ cæterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quantæ opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatûs, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloriâ, quanto tu omnibus præstitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus, admirantes numerabamus; tuos enumerare non possumus.

V. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit, hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat; quocum erat non hospitio solùm, verùm etiam familiaritate, conjunctus; et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus; vel arcessitus, ut socius; vel evocatus, ut is qui senatui parere didicisset: postremò venit, ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est, ad periculi, non ad victoriæ, societatem. Itaque, Pharsalico prœlio facto, a Pompeio discessit: spem infinitam persequi noluit: vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit: domum se contulit: teque Alexandrinum bellum gerente, utilitatibus tuis paruit. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tectis et copiis sustentavit: ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit: ille iterum, ille tertiò, auctionibus factis, pecuniam dedit, quâ ad bellum utereris: ille corpus suum periculo objecit, tecumque in acie contra Pharnacem fuit; tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quæ quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Cai Cæsar, ut eum amplissimo regis honore et nomine affeceris.

Is igitur, non modò a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te suæ interficere voluisse: quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspicari profectò non potes. Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, in conspectu Deorum penatium necare hospitem; [illegible] jus tantæ importunitatis, omnium gentium atque omnis [illegible] moriæ clarissimum lumen exstinguere; cujus tantæ fero[illegible] victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus ta[illegible] mani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in[illegible] rannum inveniri: ut hæc omittam, cujus tanti furoris [illegible] omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnes libe[illegible] pulos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique [illegible]

nium arma, contra se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo, cùm regno, cùm domo, cùm conjuge, cùm carissimo filio, distractus esset, tanto scelere non modò perfecto, sed etiam cogitato?

VI. At (credo) hæc homo inconsultus et temerarius non videbat. Quis consideratior illo? [quis tectior?] quis prudentior? quanquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentiâ, quàm fide et religione vitæ, defendendum puto. Nota tibi est, Cai Cæsar, hominis probitas, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modò populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides, non audita est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset propter metum præsentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo, et ab homine minimè stulto, cogitatum esse confingitis.

At quàm non modò non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciosè quidem! Cum, inquit, in castellum Luceium venisses, et domum regis, hospitis tui, divertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus rex te munerare constituerat. Huc te e balneo, priusquam accumberes, ducere volebat. Erant enim armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. En crimen, en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus, accuset. Ego, (mehercule) Cai Cæsar, initio, cùm est ad me ista causa delata, Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab isto adolescente esse corruptum, hac suspicione sum percussus: medicum indicem subornabit: finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni. Et si a veritate longè, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multùm, res abhorrebat.

Quid ait medicus? nihil de veneno. At id fieri potuit, primò, occultiùs in potione, vel in cibo: deinde, etiam impuniùs fit, quod, cùm est factum, negari potest. Si palàm te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non solùm odia, sed etiam arma, convertisset: si veneno; Jovis illius quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset; homines fortasse celavisset. Quod igitur et occultiùs conari, et efficere cautiùs potuit; id tibi, et medico callido, et servo (ut putabat) fideli, non credidit; de armis, de ferro, de insidiis, celare [illegible]? At quàm festivè crimen contexitur! Tua te, in[illegible]dem, quæ semper, fortuna servavit; negavisti tum te inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea? An Deiotarus, re illo tempore non perfectâ, continuò dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eòdem te, cùm cœnavisses, redditurum

dixeras: itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Cùm in convivio comiter et jucundè fuisses, tum illuc îsti, ut dixeras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit; cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asiâ; quæ Africanus, inspectante exercitu, accepit. Quod cùm præsens Deiotarus, regio et animo et more, fecisset; tu in cubiculum discessisti.

Obsecro, Cæsar, repete temporis illius memoriam: pone illum ante oculos diem: vultus hominum te intuentium atque admirantium recordare. Num quæ trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid, nisi moderatè, nisi quietè, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplinâ? Quid igitur causæ excogitari potest, cur te lautum voluerit, cœnatum noluerit, occidere?

In posterum (inquit) diem distulit; ut cùm, in castellum Luceium ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret. Non video causam loci mutandi: sed tamen acta res criminosè est Cùm, inquit, vomere te post cœnam velle dixisses, in balneum te ducere cœperunt; ibi enim erant insidiæ. At te eadem tua fortuna servavit: in cubiculum te ire malle dixisti Dii te perduint, fugitive! ita non modò nequam et improbus sed fatuus et amens es. Quid? ille signa ænea in insidiis posuerat, quæ e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent?

Habes crimina insidiarum: nihil enim dixit amplius. Horum, inquit, eram conscius. Quid tum? ita demens ille erat, ut eum, quem conscium tanti sceleris habebat, a se dimitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem suum, et C. Cæsarem, cui fecisset insidias? præsertim cùm is unus esset, qui posset [de absente se indicare.] Et fratres meos, inquit, quòd erant conscii, in vincula conjecit. Cùm igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habebat; te solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quæ illos scire dicis?

VIII. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem semper in speculis fuisse, cùm a te animo esset alieno; altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparâsse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cætera. Nunquam eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus hostium et latrociniis tueretur, et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque antea quidem majores copias alere poterat; nunc exiguas vix tueri potest.

At misit ad Cæcilium, nescio quem: sed eos, quos misit, quòd ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quæro, quàm verisimile sit, aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret; aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut, qui dicto audientes in tantâ re non fuissent, eos vinctos potiùs quàm necatos fuisse. Sed tamen cùm ad Cæcilium mittebat, utrùm causam illam victam esse nesciebat, an Cæcilium istum magnum hominem putabat? quem profectò is, qui optimè nostros homines novit, vel quia nôsset, vel quia non nôsset, contemneret. Addidit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse: veteres, credo, Cæsar; nihil ad tuum equitatum: sed misit ex iis, quos habuit, electos. Ait nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitròr: non audivi: sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

IX. Alieno autem a te animo fuit. Quomodo? Speravit, (credo) difficiles tibi Alexandriæ fore exitus, propter regionis naturam et fluminis. At eo ipso tempore pecuniam dedit; exercitum aluit: ei, quem Asiæ præfeceras, nullâ in re defuit: tibi victori, non solùm ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam, atque ad aciem, præstò fuit. Secutum est bellum Africanum. Graves de te rumores sparsi; qui etiam furiosum illum Cæcilium excitaverunt. Quo tum erga te rex animo fuit? qui auctionatus sit, seseque exspoliare maluerit, quàm tibi pecuniam non subministare. At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicæam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent, et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque cùm esset ei nunciatum, Domitium naufragio periisse, te in castello circumsideri; de Domitio dixit versum Græcum eâdem sententiâ, quâ etiam nos habemus Latinum:

"Pereant amici, dum unâ inimici intercidant."

quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixisset. Ipse enim mansuetus: versus immanis. Quî autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quo cùm vel interfici, belli lege, potuisset, regem et se, et filium suum, constitutos esse meminisset?

Quid deinde? furcifer quò progreditur? Ait, hac lætitiâ Deiotarum elatum, vino se obruisse, in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quæ crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam, aut ebrium, vidit unquam? Omnes sunt in illo rege regiæ virtutes (quod te, Cæsar, ignorare non arbitror), sed præcipuè singularis et admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari reges non

solere. Frugi hominem dici, non multum habet laudis in rege; fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, liberalem; hæ sunt regiæ laudes: illa privata est. Ut volet, quisque accipiat: ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem esse maximam judico. Hæc in illo est ab ineunte ætate, tum a cunctâ Asiâ, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis qui in Asiâ negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita.

Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rempublicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen adscendit: sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque jungebat; ut non solùm tetrarcha nobilis, sed optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius, haberetur. Qui igitur, adolescens, nondum tantâ gloriâ præditus, nihil unquam nisi severissimè et gravissimè fecerit; is, eâ existimatione, eâque ætate, saltavit?

X. Imitari potiùs, Castor, avi tui mores disciplinamque debebas, quàm optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledicere. Quòd si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiæque exempla peterentur; tamen hoc maledictum minimè in illam ætatem conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte ætate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optimè ut equis uteretur; ea tamen illum cuncta jam, ætate exactâ, defecerant. Itaque, Deiotarum cùm plures in equum sustulissent, quòd hærere in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic verò adolescens, qui meus in Ciliciâ miles, in Græciâ commilito, fuit, cùm in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos unâ cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat! quàm se jactare! quàm ostentare! quàm nemini in illâ causâ studio et cupiditate concedere! Cùm verò, exercitu amisso, ego, qui pacis auctor semper fui, post Pharsalicum autem prœlium suasor fuissem armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum; hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quòd et ipse ardebat studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus, [illegible] non impunitatem solùm adepta sit, sed etiam accusan[illegible]centiam: calamitosus Deiotarus, qui et ab eo qui in iis[illegible] castris fuerit, non modò apud te, sed etiam a suis, accu[illegible] Vos vestrâ secundâ fortunâ, Castor, non potestis, sine [illegible]pinquorum calamitate, esse contenti?

XI. Sint sanè inimicitiæ, quæ esse non debebant. Rex enim Deiotarus vestram familiam, abjectam et obscuram, e tenebris in lucem evocavit. Quis tuum patrem antè, qui esset, quàm cujus gener esset, audivit? Sed quamvis ingratè et impiè necessitudinis nomen repudiâritis, tamen inimicitias hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto: concedatur hæc quoque acerbitatis et odii magnitudo: adeòne, ut etiam omnia vitæ salutisque communis, atque etiam humanitatis, jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domo, contra dominum armare; hoc est, non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis, bellum nefarium indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi, si non modò impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tantâ auctoritate approbata; nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura, custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impunè evolare potest, contraque nos pugnare; fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus.

O tempora! o mores! Cn. Domitius ille, (quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum, vidimus) cùm, tribunus plebis, M. Scaurum, principem civitatis, in judicium populi vocâsset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset; prehendi hominem jussit, ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide, quid intersit: etsi iniquè Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit; tu ab avo abduxisti: ille incorruptum audire noluit; tu corrupisti: ille adjutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit; tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti.

At semel iste est corruptus a vobis? nonne, cùm esset productus, et cùm tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? Nonne, audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium cœnabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsum, esse confessus est?

XII. Quæ est ista tam impudens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? Idcirco in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumperes, domesticâque immanitate nostræ civitatis humanitatem inquinares?

At quàm acutè collecta crimina! Blesamius, inquit, (ejus enim nomine, optimi hominis, nec tibi ignoti, maledicebat tibi) ad regem scribere solebat, te in invidiâ esse; tyrannum existimari; statuâ inter reges positâ animos hominum

vehementer offensos; plaudi tibi non solere. Non intelligis, Cæsar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis hæc ab istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Cæsarem scriberet? multorum enim civium capita viderat; multos jussu Cæsaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos; multas afflictas et eversas domos; armatis militibus refertum forum. Quæ semper in civili victoriâ sensimus, ea, te victore, non vidimus.

Solus, inquam, es, Cai Cæsar, cujus in victoriâ ceciderit nemo, nisi armatus. Et, quem nos liberi, in summâ populi Romani libertate nati, non modò non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoriâ, ducimus; is Blesamio, qui vivit in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statuâ quis queritur, unâ præsertim, cùm tam multas videat? Valdè enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropæis non invidemus. Nam, si locus affert invidiam, nullus locus est, ad statuam quidem, Rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnunquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsâ admiratione compressus est; et fortasse eò prætermissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. Nihil a me arbitror prætermissum, sed aliquid ad extremam causæ partem reservatum. Id autem aliquid est, te ut planè Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim jam metuo, ne tu illi succenseas: illud vereor, ne tibi illum succensere aliquid suspicere: quod abest longissimè, mihi crede, Cæsar. Quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit: neque se a te multatum arbitratur; sed, cùm existimaret, multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, quominus a se, qui in alterâ parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. Etenim, si Antiochus Magnus ille, rex Asiæ, cùm, postea quàm a Scipione devictus, Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset, omnemque hanc Asiam, quæ est nunc nostra provincia, amisisset, dicere est solitus, Benignè sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quòd, nimis magnâ procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur; potest multò faciliùs se Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multam sustinuerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Cæsar, tribuisti, cùm et ipsi et filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque conservato, nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum judicium de se senatûs, imminutum putat. Magno animo et erectus est; nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunæ quidem.

Multa se arbitratur et peperisse antefactis, et habere in animo atque virtute, quæ nullo modo possit amittere. Quæ enim fortuna, aut quis casus, aut quæ tanta possit injuriâ,

omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere? Ab omnibus enim his ornatus est, qui, postquam in castris esse potuit per ætatem, in Asiâ, Cappadociâ, Ponto, Ciliciâ, Syriâ, bella gesserunt. Senatûs verò judicia de illo tam multa, tamque honorifica, quæ publicis populi Romani literis monumentisque consignata sunt, quæ unquam vetustas obruet, aut quæ tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? quid de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantiâ? quæ omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola, bona esse dixerunt; hisque, non modò ad bene, sed etiam ad beatè vivendum, contentam virtutem esse. Hæc ille reputans, et dies et noctes cogitans, non modò tibi non succenset (esset enim non solùm ingratus, sed etiam amens), verùm omnem tranquillitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert clementiæ tuæ.

XIV. Quo quidem animo cùm antea fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis literis, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone huic Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam erexerit, ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim eum bene sperare, et bono esse animo; quod scio te non frustra scribere solere: memini enim, iisdem ferè verbis ad me te scribere, meque tuis literis bene sperare non frustra esse jussum. Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causâ, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam verò necessitudinem magna ejus officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt. Sed, cùm de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec hærere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere, ut quisquam te timere incipiat eorum qui semel a te sint liberati timore. Non debeo, Cai Cæsar, (quod fieri solet in tantis periculis) tentare, quonam modo dicendo misericordiam tuam commovere possim: nihil opus est: occurrere ipsa solet supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges, et id animo contemplare quod oculis non potes. Dabis profectò misericordiæ, quod iracundiæ negavisti. Multa sunt tuæ clementiæ monumenta; sed maximè eorum incolumitates, quibus salutem dedisti: quæ si in privatis gloriosa sunt, multò magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit: sociorum verò regum et amicorum sanctissimum.

XV. Quod nomen, hi reges, ne amitterent, te victore, timuerunt: retentum verò, et a te confirmatum, posteris

etiam suis tradituros esse confido. Corpora vero sua, pro salute regum suorum, hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras, et Blesamius, et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jamdiu noti, eâdemque fide et virtute præditus Dorylāus, qui nuper cum Hierâ legatus est ad te missus, tum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquire de Blesamio, numquid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit, et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum: memoriam tuam implorat, quâ vales plurimùm: negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchiâ pedem discessisse: in primis finibus tibi se præsto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum: cùm e balneo exîsses, tecum se fuisse, cùm illa munera inspexisses cœnatus, cùm in cubiculo recubuisses; eandemque assiduitatem tibi se præbuisse postridie. Quamobrem, si quid eorum, quæ objecta sunt, cogitatum sit, non recusat, quin id facinus suum judices. Quocirca, Cai Cæsar, velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam, aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam pestem importaturam esse regibus, aut incolumem famam cum salute; quorum alterum optare, illorum crudelitatis est; alterum conservare, clementiæ tuæ.

ORATIO

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA.

I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quàm sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in quâ me non inficior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplinâ profecta, a quâ ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse; earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere propè suo jure debet. Nam, quoad longissimè potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, et pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem, et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum, exstitisse. Quòd

si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; a quo id accepimus, quo cæteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profectò ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus.

Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici fortè miretur, quòd alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina; ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum; et, quasi cognatione quâdam, inter se continentur.

II. Sed, ne cui vestrûm mirum esse videatur, me, in quæstione legitimâ, et in judicio publico, cùm res agatur apud prætorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentiâ, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modò a consuetudine judiciorum, verùm etiam a forensi sermone, abhorreat: quæso a vobis, ut, in hac causâ, mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis (quemadmodum spero) non molestam; ut me, pro summo poëtâ atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum, hac vestrâ humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac literarum paulò loqui liberiùs; et, in ejusmodi personâ, quæ, propter otium ac studium minimè in judiciis periculisque tractata est, uti propè novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concèdique sentiam; perficiam profectò, ut hunc A. Licinium, non modò non segregandum, cùm sit civis, a numero civium, verùm etiam, si non esset, putetis adsciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam, ut primùm ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab iis artibus quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit; primùm Antiochiæ (nam ibi natus est, loco nobili, celebri quondam urbe et copiosâ, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti) celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloriâ contigit: pòst in cæteris Asiæ partibus, cunctæque Græciæ, sic ejus adventus celebrabatur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque, superaret. Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum: studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementiùs tum colebantur, quàm nunc iisdem in oppidis; et hîc Romæ, propter tranquillitatem reipublicæ, non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Rhegini, et Neapolitani, civitate cæterisque

præmiis donârunt: et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimârunt.

Hac tantâ celebritate famæ cùm esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit, Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primùm consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cùm res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures, adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, cùm prætextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed etiam hoc non solùm ingenii ac literarum, verùm etiam naturæ atque virtutis, [fuit,] ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiæ prima fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti Erat temporibus illis jucundus Q. Metello illi Numidico, et ejus Pio filio: audiebatur a M. Æmilio: vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre, et filio: a L. Crasso colebatur: Lucullos verò, et Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine cùm teneret, afficiebatur summo honore; quòd eum non solùm colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verùm etiam, si qui fortè simulabant.

IV. Interim, satis longo intervallo, cùm esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, et cùm ex eâ provinciâ cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracleam. Quæ cùm esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque, cùm ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratiâ Luculli, ab Heracleensibus impetravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis, "SI QUI FŒDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSCRIPTI FUISSENT; SI TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT; ET, SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRÆTOREM ESSENT PROFESSI." Cùm hic domicilium Romæ multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum.

Si nihil aliud, nisi de civitate ac lege, dicimus, nihil dico ampliùs: causa dicta est: quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir summâ auctoritate, et religione, et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire; non audivisse, sed vidisse; non interfuisse, sed egisse, dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines, (hujus judicii causâ, cum mandatis, et cum publico testimonio, venerunt) qui hunc [adscriptum] Heracleensem dicunt.

Hîc tu tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas; quas, Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interîsse scimus omnes. Est

ridiculum, ad ea quæ habemus, nihil dicere; quærere, quæ habere non possumus; et de hominum memoriâ tacere, literarum memoriam flagitare; et, cùm habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare: tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare.

At domicilium in Italiâ non habuit; is, qui, tot annis ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit. At non est professus. Immo verò iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ, ex illâ professione, collegioque prætorum, obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam, cùm Appii tabulæ negligentiùs asservatæ dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resignâsset; Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tantâ diligentiâ fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad judices venerit, et unius nominis liturâ se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii videtis.

Quæ cùm ita sint, quid est, quòd de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim cùm aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim, cùm mediocribus multis, et aut nullâ aut humili aliquâ arte præditis, gratuitò civitatem in Græciâ homines impertiebantur, Rheginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summâ ingenii prædito gloriâ, noluisse. Quid? cùm cæteri, non modò post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam, aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint; hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est scriptus, quòd semper se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur?

Census nostros requiris scilicet: est enim obscurum, proximis censoribus, hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse; superioribus, cum eodem quæstore fuisse in Asiâ; primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive; iis temporibus, [quæ] tu criminaris, ne ipsius quidem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hæreditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo prætore et consule.

VI. Quære argumenta, si qua potes: nunquam enim hic, neque suo neque amicorum judicio, revincetur.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi

strepitu reficiatur, et aures, convicio defessæ, conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tantâ varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrinâ excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrinâ eâdem relaxemus? Ego verò fateor, me his studiis esse deditum. Cæteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucemque proferre: me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut, ab nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo, aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocârit, aut denique somnus retardârit?

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si, quantum cæteris, ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis, conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis; quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ; tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeò mihi concedendum est magis, quòd, ex his studiis, hæc quoque censetur oratio et facultas; quæ, quantacunque in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quæ si cui levior videtur; illa quidem certè, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. Nam, nisi multorum præceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentiâ suasissem, nihil esse in vitâ magnopere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem; in eâ autem persequendâ omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii, parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me, pro salute vestrâ, in tot ac tantas dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus, objecissem. Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenæ sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi literarum lumen accederet. Quàm multas nobis imagines, non solùm ad intuendum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego mihi semper in administrandâ republicâ proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsâ cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quæret quispiam, Quid? illi ipsi summi [illegible] rum virtutes literis proditæ sunt, istâne doctrinâ, [illegible] laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de [illegible] bus confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respo[illegible] Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fui[illegible] sine doctrinâ, naturæ ipsius habitu propè divino, per [illegible]

et moderatos et graves exstitisse, fateor: etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrinâ, quàm sine naturâ valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, cùm ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere exsistere: ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum; ex hoc C. Lælium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum, et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem; qui, profectò, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent.

Quòd si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur; tamen (ut opinor) hanc animi [remissionem] humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam cætera neque temporum sunt neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum: hæc studia adolescentiam [alunt,] senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur. Quòd si ipsi hæc neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cùm in aliis videremus.

VIII. Quis nostrûm tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cùm esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliârat a nobis omnibus; nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, (utar enim vestrâ benignitate, quoniam me, in hoc novo genere dicendi, tam diligenter attenditis) quoties ego hunc vidi, cùm literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de his ipsis rebus quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis! quæ verò accuratè cogitatèque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem?

Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, cæterarum rerum studia, et doctrinâ, et præceptis, et arte constare; poëtam naturâ ipsâ valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quòd quasi

Deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.

Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtæ nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent; bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos, instituti rebus optimis, non poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum; Chii suum vindicant; Salaminii repetunt; Smyrnæi verò suum esse confirmant (itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt); permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se, atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt; nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? præsertim cùm omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam. Nam et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit; et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum facilè præconium patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cùm ex eo quæreretur, Quod acroama, aut cujus vocem, libentissimè audiret; "Ejus, a quo sua virtus optimè prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marius item eximiè L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari.

Mithridaticum verò bellum, magnum atque difficile, et in multâ varietate terrâ marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: qui libri non modò L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verùm etiam populi Romani nomen, illustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsâ naturâ regionis, vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, non maximâ manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem consilio, ex omni impetu regio, ac totius belli ore ac faucibus, ereptam esse atque servatam: nostra semper feretur et prædicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cùm interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tened[illegible] illa navalis: nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monum[illegible] triumphi. Quare, quorum ingeniis hæc feruntur, [illegible] puli Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano [illegible] noster Ennius: (itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum [illegible] is esse constitutus e marmore.) At iis laudibus certè [illegible] lùm ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Romani [illegible]

natur. In cœlum hujus proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrûm laude decorantur.

X. Ergo illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudium hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt; nos hunc Heracleensem, multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostrâ civitate ejiciemus?

Nam, si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quàm ex Latinis, vehementer errat; propterea quòd Græca leguntur in omnibus ferè gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sanè, continentur. Quare, si res hæ, quas gessimus, orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur; cupere debemus, quò manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eòdem gloriam famamque penetrare; quòd cùm ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt; tum iis certè, qui de vitâ, gloriæ causâ, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum.

Quàm multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cùm in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, "O fortunate," inquit, "adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!" Et verè: nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset; idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militum, civitate donavit? et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quâdam gloriæ commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt?

Itaque, (credo) si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla, cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, (credo) hunc petentem repudiâsset: quem nos in concione vidimus, cùm ei libellum malus poëta de populo subjecisset, quòd epigramma in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, [illegible] iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium [illegible] eâ conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui [illegible] mali poëtæ duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, [illegible]ium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expe[illegible]id? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui ci[illegible]tos donavit, neque per se, neque per Lucullos, [illegible]sset? qui præsertim usque eò de suis rebus scribi

cuperet, ut etiam Cordubæ natis poëtis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed præ nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes laudis studio; et optimus quisque maximè gloriâ ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi, etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnendâ gloriâ scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator, Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam verò ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in quâ urbe imperatores propè armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in eâ non debent togati judices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

Atque, ut id libentiùs faciatis, jam me vobis, judices, indicabo; et de meo quodam amore gloriæ, nimis acri fortasse, veruntamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam, quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul, pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vitâ civium, proque universâ republicâ gessimus, attigit hic versibus, atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quòd mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, præter hanc laudis et gloriæ: quâ quidem detractâ, judices, quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus?

Certè, si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum, et, si, quibus regionibus vitæ spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas; nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, neque toties de vitâ ipsâ dimicaret. Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noctes et dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat, atque admonet, non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adæquandam.

XII. An verò tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in republicâ, atque in his vitæ periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cùm, usque ad extremum spatium, nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An, cùm statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiosè multi summi

homines reliquerint; consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multò malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego verò omnia, quæ gerebam, jam tum, in gerendo, spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. Hæc verò sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive (ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt) ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit; nunc quidem certè cogitatione quâdam speque delector.

Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari tum dignitate, tum etiam venustate; ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis; causâ verò ejusmodi, quæ beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli, comprobetur. Quæ cùm ita sint; petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modò humana, verùm etiam divina, in tantis negotiis commendatio debet esse; ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas, semper ornavit; qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis æternum se testimonium laudum daturum esse profitetur; quique est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti atque dicti; sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestrâ levatus potiùs, quàm acerbitate violatus, esse videatur. Quæ de causâ, pro meâ consuetudine, breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quæ non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine, et de hominis ingenio, et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; ab eo, qui judicium exercet, certò scio.

ORATIO

PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

I. Etsi vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro dicere incipientem, timere, minimèque deceat, cùm T. Annius Milo ipse magis de reipublicæ salute quàm de suâ perturbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem

afferre non posse; tamen hæc novi judicii nova forma terret oculos, qui, quòcunque inciderint, veterem consuetudinem fori, et pristinum morem judiciorum, requirunt. Non enim coronâ consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitatâ frequentiâ stipati sumus. Nam illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, [nobis afferunt tamen horroris aliquid;] ut, in foro, et in judicio, quanquam præsidiis salutaribus et necessariis septi [sumus], tamen ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. Quæ si opposita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, judices; nec, inter tantam vim armorum, existimarem oratori locum esse. Sed me recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium; qui profectò nec justitiæ suæ putaret esse, quem reum sententiis judicum tradidisset, eundem telis militum dedere; nec sapientiæ, temeritatem concitatæ multitudinis auctoritate publicâ armare.

Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes, non pericuum nobis, sed præsidium, denuntiant: neque solùm, ut quieto, sed etiam ut magno animo simus, hortantur; neque auxilium modò defensioni meæ, verùm etiam silentium, pollicentur. Reliqua verò multitudo, quæ quidem est civium tota nostra est; neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuentes cernitis, unde aliqua pars fori adspici potest, et hujus exitum judicii exspectantes, non, cùm virtuti Milonis favet tum de se, de liberis suis, de patriâ, de fortunis, hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis, eorum, quos P. Clodii furor rapinis et incendiis et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit: qui hesternâ etiam concione incitati sunt, ut vobis voce præirent, quid judicaretis. Quorum clamor, si qui fortè fuerit, admonere vos debebit, ut eum civem retineatis, qui semper genus illud hominum, clamorésque maximos, pro vestrâ salute neglexit. Quamobrem adeste animis, judices; et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam, si unquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si unquam de benè meritis civibus, potestas vobis judicandi fuit; si denique unquam locus amplissimorum ordinum delectis viris datus est, ubi sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ vultu et verbis sæpe significâssent, re et sententiis declararent; hoc profectò tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis, ut statuatis, utrùm nos, qui semper vestræ auctoritati dediti fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando per vos, ac vestram fidem, virtutem, sapientiamque, recreemur.

Quid enim nobis duobus, judices, laboriosius? quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum, dici aut fingi potest? qui, spe amplissimorum præmiorum ad rempublicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum carere non possumus. Equidem cæteras tempestates et procellas, in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum, semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quòd semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat: in judicio verò, et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos, ad ejus, non salutem modò exstinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam.

Quanquam, in hâc causâ, judices, T. Annii tribunatu, rebusque omnibus pro salute reipublicæ gestis, ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur: nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis, multa propter præclara in rempublicam merita, condonetis; nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potiùs, quàm populi Romani felicitati, assignetis. Sin illius insidiæ clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, judices, si cætera amisimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquatur, ab inimicorum audaciâ telisque vitam ut impunè liceat defendere.

III. Sed, antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria nostræ quæstionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in senatu ab inimicis sæpe jactata sunt, et in concione sæpe ab improbis, et paulò antè ab accusatoribus; ut, omni [errore] sublato, rem planè, quæ venit in judicium, videre possitis.

Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In quâ tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? nempe in eâ, quæ primum judicium de capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri; qui, nondum liberâ civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, cùm suâ manu sororem interfectam esse fateretur.

An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, cùm de homine occiso quæratur, aut negari solere omninò esse factum, aut, rectè ac jure factum esse, defendi? Nisi verò existimatis, dementem P. Africanum fuisse, qui, cùm a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, in concione seditiosè interrogaretur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, respondit, jure cæsum videri. Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius, aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opimius, aut C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus, non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Ita-

que hoc, judices, non sine causâ etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriæ prodiderunt; eum, qui patris ulciscendi causâ, matrem necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis, non solùm divinâ, sed etiam sapientissimæ Deæ, sententiâ liberatum. Quòd si Duodecim Tabulæ nocturnum furem, quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impunè voluerunt; quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cùm videat aliquando gladium nobis, ad occidendum hominem, ab ipsis porrigi legibus?

IV. Atqui, si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi (quæ multa sunt), certè illud est non modò justum, verùm etiam necessarium, cùm vi vis illata defenditur. Pudicitiam cùm eriperet militi tribunus [militaris] in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, interfectus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat. Facere enim probus adolescens periculosè, quàm perpeti turpiter, maluit. Atque hunc ille vir summus, scelere solutum, periculo liberavit. Insidiatori verò et latroni quæ potest inferri injusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii, volunt? quos habere certè non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata, lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verùm ex naturâ ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus; ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum, incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma; nec se exspectari jubent, cùm ei, qui exspectare velit, antè injusta pœna luenda sit, quàm justa repetenda.

Etsi persapienter, et quodammodo tacitè, dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi; quæ non modò hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causâ, vetat; ut, cùm causa, non telum, quæreretur; qui sui defendendi causâ telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causâ habuisse telum judicaretur. Quapropter hoc maneat in causâ, judices: non enim dubito, quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis, quod oblivisci non potestis, insidiatorem jure interfici posse.

V. Sequitur illud, quod a Milonis inimicis sæpissime dicitur, Cædem, in quâ P. Clodius occisus est, senatum judicâsse, contra rempublicam esse factam. Illam verò senatus non sententiis suis solùm, sed etiam studiis, comprobavit. Quoties enim est illa causa a nobis acta in senatu! quibus

assensionibus universi ordinis! quàm nec tacitis, nec occultis! Quando enim, frequentissimo senatu, quatuor, ad summum quinque, sunt inventi, qui Milonis causam non probarent? Declarant hujus ambusti tribuni plebis illæ intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiosè criminabatur, cùm diceret, senatum, non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decernere. Quæ quidem si potentia est appellanda potiùs, quàm, propter magna in rempublicam merita, mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas, aut, propter hos officiosos labores meos, nonnulla apud bonos gratia; appelletur ita sanè, dummodo eâ nos utamur pro salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum.

Hanc verò quæstionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen senatus constituendam putavit. Erant enim leges, erant quæstiones, vel de cæde, vel de vi: nec tantum mœrorem ac luctum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quæstio constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro, judicium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta; de ejus interitu, quis potest credere, senatum judicium novum constituendum putâsse? Cur igitur incendium curiæ, oppugnationem ædium M. Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam, contra rempublicam senatus factam esse decrevit? quia nulla vis unquam est in liberâ civitate suscepta inter cives, non contra rempublicam. Non enim est illa defensio contra vim unquam optanda; sed nonnunquam est necessaria: nisi verò aut ille dies, in quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille quo Caius, aut quo arma Saturnini oppressa sunt, etiamsi e republicâ, rempublicam tamen non vulnerârunt.

VI. Itaque ego ipse decrevi, cùm cædem in Appiâ factam esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra rempublicam fecisse; sed, cùm inesset in re vis et insidiæ, crimen judicio reservavi; rem notavi. Quòd si, per furiosum illum tribunum, senatui, quod sentiebat, perficere licuisset, novam quæstionem nunc nullam haberemus. Decernebat enim, ut, veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordinem, quæreretur. Divisa sententia est, postulante nescio quo: nihil enim necesse est, omnium me flagitia proferre. Sic reliqua auctoritas senatûs, emptâ intercessione, sublata est. At enim Cn. Pompeius, rogatione suâ et de re et de causâ judicavit: tulit enim de cæde, quæ in Appiâ viâ facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus fuit. Quid ergo tulit? Nempe ut quæreretur. Quid porro quærendum est? factumne sit? at constat: a quo? at patet. Vidit, etiam in confessione facti, juris tamen defensionem suscipi posse. Quòd nisi

vidisset, posse absolvi eum, qui fateretur; cùm videret nos fateri, neque quæri unquam jussisset, nec vobis tam salutarem hanc in judicando literam, quàm illam tristem, dedisset Mihi verò Cn. Pompeius non modò nihil gravius contra Milonem judicâsse, sed etiam statuisse videtur, quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam, qui non pœnam confessioni, sed defensionem, dedit, is causam interitûs quærendam, non interitum, putavit. Jam illud dicet ipse profectò, quod suâ sponte fecit, Publione Clodio tribuendum putârit, an tempori.

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir, senatûs propugnator, atque, illis quidem temporibus, penè patronus, avunculus cujus nostri judicis, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis M. Drusus, occisus est. Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quæstio decreta a senatu est. Quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisse a nostris patribus accepimus, cùm P. Africano, domi suæ quiescenti, illa nocturna vis esset illata? Quis tum non gemuit? quis non arsit dolore? quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessariam quidem exspectatam esse mortem! Num igitur ulla quæstio de Africani morte lata est? certè nulla. Quid ita? quia non alio facinore clari homines, alio obscuri, necantur. Intersit inter vitæ dignitatem summorum atque infimorum: mors quidem, illata per scelus, iisdem et pœnis teneatur et legibus. Nisi fortè magis erit parricida, si quis consularem patrem, quàm si quis humilem, necaverit; aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quòd is in monumentis majorum suorum sit interfectus: hoc enim sæpe ab istis dicitur, perinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam munierit, non quâ populus uteretur, sed ubi impunè sui posteri latrocinarentur.

Itaque, in eâdem istâ Appiâ viâ, cùm ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum: homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat: nunc ejusdem Appiæ nomen quantas tragœdias excitat! Quæ, cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri, silebatur, eadem nunc crebrò usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum collocârat. Extorta est confitenti sica de manibus. Caruit foro postea Pompeius: caruit senatu: caruit publico: januâ se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque, texit. Num quæ rogatio lata? num quæ nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir, si tem-

pus ullum dignum fuit, certè hæc in illâ causâ summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro collocatus, atque in vestibulo ipso senatûs: ei viro autem mors parabatur, cujus in vitâ nitebatur salus civitatis; eo porrò reipublicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solùm civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent. Nisi fortè, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda; perinde quasi exitus rerum, non hominum consilia, legibus vindicentur. Minùs dolendum fuit, re non perfectâ; sed puniendum certè nihilo minùs. Quoties ego ipse, judices, ex P. Clodii telis, et ex cruentis ejus manibus, effugi! ex quibus si me non vel mea vel reipublicæ fortuna servâsset, quis tandem de interitu meo quæstionem tulisset?

VIII. Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, qui Africanum Pompeium, nosmet ipsos, cum P. Clodio conferre audeamus. Tolerabilia fuerunt illa: P. Clodii mortem æquo animo nemo ferre potest. Luget senatus: mœret equester ordo: tota civitas confecta senio est: squalent municipia: afflictantur coloniæ: agri denique ipsi tam beneficum, tam salutarem, tam mansuetum, civem desiderant. Non fuit ea profectò causa, judices, non fuit, cur sibi censeret Pompeius quæstionem ferendam: sed homo sapiens, et altâ [et divinâ] quâdam mente præditus, multa vidit: fuisse sibi illum inimicum, familiarem Milonem. In communi omnium lætitiâ, si etiam ipse gauderet, timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides reconciliatæ gratiæ. Multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maximè: quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortiter judicaturos. Itaque delegit e florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina. Neque verò (quod nonnulli dictitant) secrevit, in judicibus legendis, amicos meos: neque enim hoc cogitavit vir justissimus; neque, in bonis viris legendis, id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupîsset. Non enim mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quæ latè patere non possunt, propterea quòd consuetudines victûs non possunt esse cum multis. Sed, si quid possumus, ex eo possumus, quòd respublica nos conjunxit cum bonis: ex quibus ille cùm optimos viros legeret, idque maximè ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei.

Quòd verò te, L. Domiti, huic quæstioni præesse maximè voluit, nihil quæsivit aliud, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem. Tulit, ut consularem necesse esset: credo, quòd principum munus esse ducebat, resistere et levitati multitudinis, et perditorum temeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit potissimùm: dederas enim, quàm contemneres populares insanias, jam ab adolescentiâ documenta maxima.

IX. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando ad causam crimenque veniamus; si neque omnis confessio facti est inusitata; neque de causâ quidquam nostrâ aliter, ac nos vellemus, a senatu judicatum est; et lator ipse legis, cùm esset controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit; et electi judices, isque præpositus quæstioni, qui hæc justè sapienterque disceptet; reliquum est, judices, ut nihil jam aliud quærere debeatis, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit. Quod quò faciliùs argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæso, diligenter attendite.

P. Clodius cùm statuisset omni scelere in præturâ vexare rempublicam, videretque ita tracta esse comitia anno superiore, ut non multos menses præturam gerere posset; qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut cæteri, sed et L. Paulum collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rempublicam quæreret; subitò reliquit annum suum, seque in annum proximum transtulit, non (ut fit) religione aliquâ, sed ut haberet (quod ipse dicebat), ad præturam gerendam, hoc est, ad evertendam rempublicam, plenum annum atque integrum.

Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem præturam suam futuram, consule Milone: eum porrò summo consensu populi Romani consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se ad ejus competitores, sed ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam invitis illis, gubernaret; tota ut comitia suis (ut dictitabat) humeris sustineret. Convocabat tribus: se interponebat: Collinam novam, delectu perditissimorum civium conscribebat. Quanto ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convalescebat. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissimus, fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consulem, idque intellexit non solùm sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis, populi Romani sæpe esse declaratum; palàm agere cœpit, et apertè dicere, occidendum Milonem. Servos agrestes et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat, Etruriamque vexârat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat minimè obscura: etenim palàm dictitabat, consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc sæpe in senatu: dixit in concione. Quinetiam Favonio, fortissimo viro, quærenti ex eo, quâ spe fureret, Milone vivo, respondit, triduo illum, ad summum quatriduo, periturum: quam vocem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius detulit.

X. Interim, cùm sciret Clodius (neque enim erat difficile scire), iter sollenne, legitimum, necessarium, ante diem XIII. Calendas Februarias, Miloni esse Lanuvium ad flaminis

prodendum, quòd erat dictator Lanuvii Milo; Româ subitò ipse profectus pridie est, ut, ante suum fundum, (quod re intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque ita profectus est, ut concionem turbulentam, in quâ ejus furor desideratus est, quæ illo ipso die habita est, relinqueret; quam, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, nunquam reliquisset.

Milo autem, cùm in senatu fuisset eo die quoad senatus dimissus est, domum venit: calceos et vestimenta mutavit: paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, commoratus est: deinde profectus est id temporis, cùm jam Clodius, siquidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset. Obviàm fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nullâ rhedâ, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat; sine uxore, quod nunquam ferè: cùm hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cædem faciendam apparâsset, cum uxore veheretur in rhedâ, pænulatus, magno impedimento, ac muliebri et delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu.

Fit obviàm Clodio ante fundum ejus, horâ ferè undecimâ, aut non multò secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum: adversi rhedarium occidunt. Cùm autem hic de rhedâ, rejectâ pænulâ, desiluisset, seque acri animo defenderet; illi, qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur; partim, quòd hunc jam interfectum putarent, cædere incipiunt ejus servos, qui pòst erant: ex quibus, qui animo fideli in dominum et præsenti fuerunt, partim occisi sunt, partim, cùm ad rhedam pugnari viderent, et domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonemque occisum etiam ex ipso Clodio audirent, et ita esse putarent, fecerunt id [servi Milonis,] (dicam enim, non derivandi criminis causâ, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque præsente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.

XI. Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, judices: insidiator superatus, vi victa vis, vel potiùs oppressa virtute audacia est. Nihil dico, quid respublica consecuta sit; nihil, quid vos; nihil, quid omnes boni: nihil sanè id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit, quin unâ rempublicam vosque servaret. Si id jure non posset, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin hoc et ratio doctis, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa, præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim, quâcunque ope possent, a corpore, a

capite, a vitâ suâ, propulsarent; non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum.

Quòd si ita putâsset, certè optabilius Miloni fuisset dare jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum primùm petitum, quàm jugulari a vobis, quia se illi non jugulandum tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrûm ita sentit; illud jam in judicium venit, non, Occisusne sit (quod fatemur), sed, Jure, an injuriâ; quod multis in causis sæpe quæsitum est. Insidias factas esse constat: et id est, quod senatus contra rempublicam factum judicavit: ab utro factæ sint, incertum est. De hoc igitur, latum est, ut quæreretur. Ita et senatus rem, non hominem, notavit; et Pompeius, de jure, non de facto, quæstionem tulit.

XII. Numquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit? profectò, nihil; si hic illi, ut ne sit impunè; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamur.

Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni fecisse Clodium? Satis est quidem, in illâ tam audaci, tam nefariâ belluâ, docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem, in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum, CUI BONO FUERIT, in his personis valeat; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi sæpe parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodius hoc assequebatur, non modò ut prætor esset, non eo consule, quo sceleris nihil facere posset; sed etiam, ut his consulibus prætor esset, quibus, si non adjuvantibus, at conniventibus certè, speraret, se posse rempublicam eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus: cujus illi conatus (ut ipse ratiocinabatur) nec, si possent, reprimere cuperent, cùm tantum beneficium ei se debere arbitrarentur; et, si vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimi corroboratam jam vetustate audaciam.

An verò, judices, vos soli ignoratis? vos hospites in hac urbe versamini? vestræ peregrinantur aures? neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone versantur, quas ille leges (si leges nominandæ sunt, ac non faces urbis, et pestes reipublicæ) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus, atque inusturus? Exhibe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, exhibe librarium illud legum vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo, et ex mediis armis turbâque nocturnâ, tanquam Palladium, sustulisse, ut præclarum videlicet munus, atque instrumentum tribunatûs, ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum

gereret, deferre posses. Et adspexit me illis quidem oculis, quibus tum solebat, cùm omnia omnibus minabatur. Movet me quippe lumen curiæ.

XIII. Quid? tu me iratum, Sexte, putas tibi, cujus tu inimicissimum multò crudeliùs etiam punitus es, quàm erat humanitatis meæ postulare? Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver ejecisti domo, tu in publicum abjecisti: tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompâ, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semiustulatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti. Quam rem etsi nefariè fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam, laudare non possum, irasci certè non debeo.

P. Clodii præturam non sine maximo rerum novarum metu proponi, et solutam fore videbatis, nisi esset is consul, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. Eum Milonem esse, cùm sentiret universus populus Romanus; quis dubitaret, suffragio suo, se metu, periculo rempublicam, liberare? At [non,] P. Clodio remoto, usitatis jam rebus enitendum est Miloni, ut tueatur dignitatem suam. Singularis illa, quic uni concessa gloria, quæ quotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, jam morte Clodii cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem metueretis: hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem consulatûs, fontem perennem gloriæ suæ, perdidit. Itaque Milonis consulatus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non poterat, mortuo denique tentari cœptus est. Non modò igitur nihil prodest, sed obest etiam, P. Clodii mors Miloni.

At valuit odium; fecit iratus; fecit inimicus; fuit ultor injuriæ, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in Clodio, quàm in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc; quid vultis amplius? Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, segetem ac materiam suæ gloriæ, præter hoc civile odium, quo omnes improbos odimus? Ille, erat, ut odisset, primùm defensorem salutis meæ, deinde vexatorem furoris, domitorem armorum suorum, postremò etiam accusatorem suum: reus enim Milonis, lege Plotiâ, fuit Clodius, quoad vixit. Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum tulisse creditis? quantum odium illius, et, in homine injusto, quàm etiam justum?

XIV. Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius consuetudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant. Nihil per vim unquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid ergo, judices? cùm, mœrentibus vobis, Urbe cessi, judiciumne timui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur

causa justa restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? Diem mihi (credo) dixerat: multam irrogârat: actionem perduellionis intenderat: et mihi videlicet, in causâ aut malâ aut meâ, non et præclarissimâ et vestrâ, judicium timendum fuit. Servorum et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis meos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui.

Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, lumen et ornamentum reipublicæ, penè interfici servorum manu, cùm mihi adesset: quâ in turbâ C. Vibienus, senator, vir optimus, cum hoc cùm esset unâ, ita est multatus, ut vitam amiserit. Itaque, quando illius postea sica illa, quam à Catilinâ acceperat, conquievit? Hæc intentata nobis est: huic ego vos objici pro me non sum passus: hæc insidiata Pompeio est: hæc istam Appiam, monumentum sui nominis, nece Papirii cruentavit: hæc, hæc eadem, longo intervallo, conversa rursus est in me: nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam penè confecit.

Quid simile Milonis? cujus vis omnis hæc semper fuit, ne P. Clodius, cùm in judicium detrahi non posset, vi oppressam civitatem teneret. Quem si interficere voluisset, quantæ, quoties occasiones, quàm præclaræ, fuerunt! Potuitne, cùm domum ac Deos penates suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci? potuitne, cive egregio, et viro fortissimo, P. Sextio, collegâ suo, vulnerato? potuitne, Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, cùm de reddittu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissimâ in foro cæde factâ? potuitne, L. Cæcilii, justissimi fortissimique prætoris, oppugnatâ domo? potuitne illo die, cùm est lata lex de me? cùm totius Italiæ concursus, quem mea salus concitârat, facti illius gloriam libens agnovisset: ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro suâ vindicaret.

XV. Atqui erat id temporis clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illius, propugnator senatûs, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus illius publici consensûs, restitutor salutis meæ; septem prætores, octo tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cn. Pompeius auctor et dux mei reditûs, illius hostis; cujus sententiam senatus omnis de salute meâ gravissimam et ornatissimam secutus est: qui populum Romanum cohortatus est, qui, cùm de me decretum Capuæ fecit, ipse cunctæ Italiæ cupienti, et ejus fidem imploranti, signum dedit, ut, ad me restituendum, Romam concurrerent. Omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebant desiderio mei:

quem si qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de præmiis, cogitaretur.

Tamen se Milo continuit, et P. Clodium ad judicium bis, ad vim nunquam, vocavit. Quid? privato Milone, et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, cùm in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est; quæ tum non modò occasio, sed etiam causa, illius opprimendi fuit! Nuper verò, cùm M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus reipublicæ partem fortissimè suscepisset, atque illam belluam, judicii laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam teneret; qui locus, quod tempus illud (Dii immortales!) fuit! Cùm se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nullâ suâ invidiâ, Antonii verò maximâ gloriâ? Quid? comitiis in Campo quoties potestas fuit! cùm ille vi in Septa irrupisset, gladios distringendos, lapides jaciendos, curâsset; deinde subitò, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim; vos, et omnes boni vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute suâ liberet.

XVI. Quem igitur cum omnium gratiâ noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querelâ? Quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impunè, non est ausus, hunc injuriâ, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis, non dubitavit occidere? præsertim, judices, cùm honoris amplissimi contentio, et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim, quàm timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quàm sollicita cupiditas consulatûs) omnia non modò, quæ reprehendi palàm, sed etiam quæ obscurè cogitari possunt, timemus; rumorem, fabulam fictam, falsam perhorrescimus; ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quàm voluntas erga nos, sensusque, civium; qui non modò improbitati irascuntur candidatorum, sed etiam in rectè factis sæpe fastidiunt.

Hunc diem igitur Campi, speratum atque exoptatum, sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus scelus et facinus præ se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? Quàm hoc non credibile in hoc! quàm idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se, interfecto Milone, regnaturum putaret! Quid? quod caput audaciæ est, judices, quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem? In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone? qui etiam nunc reus est facti, aut præclari, aut certè necessarii: an in Clodio? qui ita judicia pœnamque contempserat, ut eum

nihil delectaret, quod aut per naturam fas esset, aut per leges liceret.

Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura disputo? Te, Q. Petilli, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit judices. Vos ex M. Favonio audîstis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audîstis, vivo Clodio, periturum Milonem triduo. Post diem tertium gesta res est, quàm dixerat. Cùm ille non dubitaret aperire, quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non fefellit? dixi equidem modò. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata sacrificia nôsse, negotii nihil erat. Vidit, necesse esse Miloni, proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo profectus est, die: itaque antevertit. At quo die? quo (ut antè dixi) insanissima concio ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis est concitata: quem diem ille, quam concionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus approperaret, nunquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi: Miloni manendi nulla facultas, exeundi non causa solùm, sed etiam necessitas fuit.

Quid? si, ut ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in viâ, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit?

Primùm quæro, quî scire potuerit? quod vos idem in Clodio quærere non potestis. Ut enim neminem alium, nisi T. Patinam, familiarissimum suum, rogâsset, scire potuit, illo ipso die Lanuvii a dictatore Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse. Sed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facillimè scire posset; omnes scilicet Lanuvini. Milo de Clodii reditu unde quæsivit? Quæsierit sanè: videte, quid vobis largiar: servum etiam (ut Arrius, meus amicus, dixit) corruperit. Legite testimonia testium vestrorum. Dixit C. Cassinius, cognomento Scola, Interamnas, familiarissimus, et idem comes P. Clodii, (cujus jampridem testimonio Clodius eâdem horâ Interamnæ fuerat, et Romæ) P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum fuisse; sed subitò ei esse nuntiatum, Cyrum architectum esse mortuum; itaque Romam repentè constituisse proficisci. Dixit hoc, comes item P. Clodii, C. Clodius.

XVIII. Videte, judices, quantæ res his testimoniis sint confectæ. Primùm, certè liberatur Milo, non eo consilio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in viâ Clodio; quippe qui ei obvius futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non enim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis, judices, fuisse, qui, in hac rogatione suadendâ, dicerent, Milonis manu cæ-

dem esse factam, consilio verò majoris alicujus. Videlicet me latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditi describebant. Jacent suis testibus ii, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audîsset, fuisse rediturum. Respiravi: liberatus sum: non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitâsse.

Nunc persequar cætera: nam occurrit illud: ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus, siquidem exiturus ad cædem e villâ non fuisset. Video enim, illum, qui dicitur de Cyri morte nuntiâsse, non id nuntiâsse, sed Milonem appropinquare: nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodius, Româ proficiscens, reliquerat morientem? Unâ fui: testamentum simul obsignavi cum Clodio: testamentum autem palàm fecerat, et illum hæredem, et me, scripserat. Quem pridie horâ tertiâ animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie horâ decimâ denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. Age, sit ita factum: quæ causa, cur Romam properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? quid afferebat [causam] festinationis? quòd hæres erat? Primùm, erat nihil, cur properato opus esset: deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod eâ nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie manè Romam venisset? Atque, ut illi nocturnus ad Urbem adventus vitandus potiùs quàm expetendus fuit; sic Miloni, cùm insidiator esset, si illum ad Urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque exspectandum fuit. Noctu, invidioso et pleno latronum in loco, occidisset: nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum, etiam confitentem, volunt. Sustinuisset hoc crimen primùm ipse ille latronum occultator et receptator locus, dum neque muta solitudo indicâsset, neque cæca nox ostendisset Milonem: deinde ibi multi ab illo violati, spoliati, bonis expulsi, multi etiam hæc timentes, in suspicionem caderent; tota denique rea citaretur Etruria. Atque illo die certè, Ariciâ rediens, divertit Clodius [ad se,] ad Albanum. Quod, ut sciret Milo illum Ariciæ fuisse, suspicari tamen debuit, eum, etiam si Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, quæ viam tangeret, diversurum. Cur neque antè occurrit, ne ille in villâ resideret; nec eo in loco subsedit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

Video adhuc constare omnia, judices: Miloni etiam utile fuisse Clodium vivere; illi, ad ea quæ concupierat, optatissimum interitum Milonis: odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, in illum hujus nullum: consuetudinem illius perpe-

tuam in vi inferendâ; hujus tantùm in repellendâ: mortem ab illo denuntiatam Miloni et prædictam palàm; nihil unquàm auditum ex Milone: profectionis hujus diem illi notum, reditum illius huic ignotum fuisse: hujus iter necessarium; illius etiam potiùs alienum: hunc præ se tulisse, se illo die Româ exiturum; illum eo die se dissimulâsse rediturum: hunc nullius rei mutâsse consilium; illum causam mutandi consilii finxisse: huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope Urbem exspectandam; illi, etiam si hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad Urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

XX. Videamus nunc, (id, quod caput est) locus ad insidias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptior Id verò, judices, etiam dubitandum et diutiùs cogitandum est? Ante fundum Clodii, (quo in fundo, propter insanas illas substructiones, facilè mille hominum versabantur valentium) edito adversarii atque excelso loco superiorem se fore putabat Milo; et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimùm elegerat? an in eo loco est potiùs exspectatus ab eo, qui, ipsius loci spe, facere impetum cogitârat? Res loquitur, judices, ipsa; quæ semper valet plurimùm. Si hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis; tamen appareret, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, cùm alter veheretur in rhedâ pænulatus, unâ sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum, an comes? quid minùs promptum ad pugnam, cùm pænulâ irretitus, rhedâ impeditus, uxore penè constrictus, esset? Videte nunc illum, primùm egredientem e villâ, subitò: cur? vesperi: quid necesse est? tardè: quî convenit, id præsertim temporis? Divertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium ut videret? sciebat in Alsiensi esse; villam ut perspiceret? millies in eâ fuerat. Quid ergo erat? mora et tergiversatio: dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

XXI. Age nunc, iter expediti latronis cum Milonis impedimentis comparate. Semper ille antea cum uxore; tum sine eâ: nunquam non in rhedâ; tum in equo. Comites Græculi, quòcunque ibat, etiam cùm in castra Etrusca properabat; tum nugarum in comitatu nihil. Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat, et ancillarum greges: ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas duceret, tum neminem, nisi ut virum a viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est? quia non semper viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a viatore, occiditur: quia, quanquam paratus in imparatos Clodius, tamen mulier inciderat in viros.

Nec verò sic erat unquam non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satis fèrè esset paratus. Semper ille, et quantum interesset P. Clodii, se perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille auderet, cogitabat. Quamobrem vitam suam, quam maximis præmiis propositam et penè addictam sciebat, nunquam in periculum sine præsidio et sine custodiâ projiciebat. Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum, Martemque communem; qui sæpe spoliantem jam et exsultantem evertit, et perculit ab abjecto. Adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis, qui, cùm a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de ejus extremis comitibus cogitavit; in quos, incensos irâ, vitamque domini desperantes, cùm incidisset, hæsit in iis pœnis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vitâ expetiverunt. Cur igitur eos manumisit? Metuebat, scilicet, ne indicarent; ne dolorem perferre non possent; ne tormentis cogerentur, occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appiâ viâ P. Clodium, confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? quid quæris? occideritne? occidit. Jure, an injuriâ? nihil ad tortorem: facti enim in equuleo quæstio est, juris in judicio.

XXII. Quod igitur in causâ quærendum est, id agamus hîc: quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu verò cur miserit, si id potiùs quæris, quàm cur parum amplis affecerit præmiis; nescis inimici factum reprehendere. Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constanter et fortiter, M. Cato, dixitque in turbulentâ concione (quæ tamen hujus auctoritate placata est), non libertate solùm, sed etiam omnibus præmiis, dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim præmium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos vivit? etsi id quidem non tanti est, quàm quòd, propter eosdem, non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit. Quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuissent conservatores domini, ultores sceleris, defensores necis. Hic verò nihil habet in his malis, quod minùs molestè ferat, quàm, etiam si quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meritum præmium persolutum.

Sed quæstiones urgent Milonem, quæ sunt habitæ nunc in atrio Libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? rogas? de P. Clodii. Quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis produxit? Appius. Unde? ab Appio. Dii boni! quid potest agi severius? De servis nulla quæstio est in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium. Proximè Deos accessit Clodius, propiùs quàm tum, cùm ad ipsos penetrârat; cujus de morte, tanquam de cæremoniis violatis, quæritur. Sed tamen majores nostri in

dominum de servo quæri noluerunt; non quia non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum esse, et dominis morte ipsâ tristius. In reum de servis accusatoris cùm quæritur, verum inveniri potest? Age verò, quæ erat, aut qualis quæstio? Heus tu, Ruscio, (verbi causâ) cave sis mentiaris. Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit. Certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas. Quid hâc quæstione certius? Subitò arrepti in quæstionem, tamen separantur a cæteris, et in arcas conjiciuntur, ne quis cum iis colloqui possit. Hi centum dies penes accusatorem cùm fuissent, ab eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. Quid hac quæstione dici potest integrius? quid incorruptius?

XXIII. Quòd si nondum satis cernitis, (cùm res ipsa tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat) purâ mente atque integrâ Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu perterritum, nullâ conscientiâ exanimatum, Romam revertisse; recordamini (per Deos immortales!) quæ fuerit celeritas reditûs ejus; qui ingressus in forum, ardente curiâ; quæ magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque verò se populo solùm, sed etiam senatui, commisit; neque senatui modò, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis; neque his tantùm, verùm etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiæ pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma, commiserat: cui nunquam se hic profectò tradidisset, nisi causæ suæ confideret; præsertim omnia audienti, magna metuenti, multa suspicanti, nonnulla credenti. Magna vis est conscientiæ, judices, et magna in utramque partem; ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint; et pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccârint.

Neque verò sine ratione certâ causa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, præsentiam animi, defensionis constantiam. An verò obliti estis, judices, recenti illo nuntio necis Clodianæ, non modò inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romam esse rediturum. Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensus odio trucidaret inimicum; arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortem P. Clodii putâsse, ut æquo animo patriâ careret, cùm sanguine inimici explêsset odium suum: sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quin, cùm suo periculo salutem reipublicæ attulisset, cederet æquo animo [legibus]; secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis hæc fruenda relinqueret, quæ ipse

servâsset. Multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur: Erumpet; occupabit aliquem locum; bellum patriæ faciet. Miseros interdum cives, optimè de republicâ meritos! in quibus homines non modò res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur. Ergo illa falsa fuerunt: quæ certè vera exstitissent, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod non posset honestè verèque defendere.

XXIV. Quid? quæ postea sunt in eum congesta, (quæ quemvis, etiam mediocrium delictorum conscientiâ, perculissent) ut sustinuit! Dii immortales! sustinuit? immo verò, ut contempsit, ac pro nihilo putavit! quæ neque maximo animo nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere potuisset. Scutorum, gladiorum, frænorum, sparorum, pilorumque etiam, multitudo deprehendi posse indicabatur. Nullum in Urbe vicum, nullum angiportum, esse dicebant, in quo Miloni non esset conducta domus: arma in villam Ocriculanam devecta Tiberi: domum in clivo Capitolino scutis refertam: plena omnia malleolorum ad Urbis incendia comparatorum. Hæc non delata solùm, sed penè credita; nec antè repudiata sunt, quàm quæsita.

Laudabam equidem incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii: sed dicam, ut sentio, judices. Nimis multa audire coguntur, neque aliter facere possunt, ii, quibus tota commissa est respublica; quin etiam audiendus fuerit popa Licinius, nescio quis, de Circo: servos Milonis, apud se ebrios factos, sibi confessos esse, se de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio conjurâsse: deinde postea se gladio percussum esse ab uno de illis, ne indicaret. Pompeio in hortos nuntiavit. Arcessor in primis: de amicorum sententiâ, rem defert ad senatum. Non poteram, in illius mei patriæque custodis tantâ suspicione, non metu exanimari: sed mirabar tamen, credi popæ; [ebriosorum] confessionem servorum audiri; vulnus in latere, quod acu punctum videretur, pro ictu gladiatoris probari. Verùm (ut intelligo) cavebat magis Pompeius, quàm timebat, non ea solùm, quæ timenda erant, sed omnino omnia, ne aliquid vos timeretis. Oppugnata domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et fortissimi viri, per multas noctis horas nuntiabatur. Nemo audierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat: tamen audiebatur. Non poteram Cn. Pompeium, præstantissimâ virtute virum, timidum suspicari: diligentiam, totâ republicâ susceptâ, nimiam nullam putabam. Frequentissimo senatu nuper in Capitolio, senator inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret. Nudavit se in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita talis et civis, et viri, fidem non faciebat, nisi, eo tacente, res ipsa loqueretur.

XXV. Omnia falsa atque [insidiosè] ficta comperta sunt. Quòd si tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non hoc jam Clodianum crimen timemus; sed tuas, Cn. Pompei, (te enim jam appello eâ voce, ut me audire possis) tuas, tuas, inquam suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si Milonem times, si hunc de tuâ vitâ nefariè aut nunc cogitare, aut molitum aliquando aliquid, putas; si Italiæ delectus, (ut nonnulli conquisitores tui dictitant) si hæc arma, si Capitolinæ cohortes, si excubiæ, si vigiliæ, si delecta juventus, quæ tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, intenta sunt; magna in hoc certè vis, et incredibilis animus, et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, siquidem in hunc unum et præstantissimus dux electus, et tota respublica armata est.

Sed quis non intelligit, omnes tibi reipublicæ partes, ægras et labantes, ut eas his armis sanares et confirmares, esse commissas? Quòd si Miloni locus datus esset, probâsset profectò tibi ipsi, neminem unquam hominem homini cariorem fuisse, quàm te sibi; nullum se unquam periculum pro tuâ dignitate fugisse; cum illâ ipsâ teterrimâ peste sæpissime pro tuâ gloriâ contendisse; tribunatum suum ad salutem meam, quæ tibi carissima fuisset, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum in periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione præturæ; duos se habere semper amicissimos sperâsse, te tuo beneficio, me suo. Quæ si non probaret; si tibi ita penitùs inhæsisset ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset; si denique Italia a delectu, Urbs ab armis, sine Milonis clade, nunquam esset conquietura; næ iste haud dubitans cessisset patriâ, is, qui ita natus est, et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen antestaretur; quod nunc etiam facit.

XXVI. Vide, quàm sit varia vitæ commutabilisque ratio, quàm vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantæ infidelitates in amicis, quàm ad tempus aptæ simulationes, quantæ in periculis fugæ proximorum, quantæ timiditates. Erit, erit illud profectò tempus, et illucescet aliquando ille dies, cùm tu, salutaribus (ut spero) rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo communium temporum immutatis, (qui quàm crebrò accidat, experti debemus scire) et amicissimi benevolentiam, et gravissimi hominis fidem, et unius post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi, desideres.

Quanquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicæ peritissimum, cùm senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET, (quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis) hunc, exercitu, hunc, de-

lectu dato, judicium exspectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui vel judicia ipsa tolleret? Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, satis, falsò ista conferri in Milonem: qui legem tulit, quâ, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvi a vobis oporteret; ut omnes confitentur, liceret.

Quòd verò in illo loco, atque illis publicorum præsidiorum copiis circumfusus, sedet; satis declarat, se non terrorem inferre vobis, (quid enim illo minùs dignum, quàm cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem animadvertere ipse, et more majorum et suo jure, posset?) sed præsidio esse; ut intelligatis, contra hesternam concionem illam, licere vobis, quod sentiatis, liberè judicare.

XXVII. Nec verò me, judices, Clodianum crimen movet: nec tam sum demens, tamque vestri sensûs ignarus atque expers, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii sentiatis. De quâ, si jam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, tamen impunè Miloni palàm clamare atque mentiri gloriosè liceret: Occidi, occidi, non Sp. Melium, qui, annonâ levandâ, jacturisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem putabatur, in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi: non Ti. Gracchum, qui collegæ magistratum per seditionem abrogavit; quorum interfectores implêrunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloriâ: sed eum, (auderet enim dicere, cùm patriam, periculo suo, liberâsset) cujus nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus sanctissimis nobilissimæ fœminæ comprehenderunt: eum, cujus supplicio senatus sollennes religiones expiandas sæpe censuit: eum, quem cum sorore germanâ nefarium stuprum fecisse, L. Lucullus, juratus, se, quæstionibus habitis, dixit comperisse: eum, qui civem, quem senatus, quem populus, quem omnes gentes, Urbis ac vitæ civium conservatorem judicârant, servorum armis exterminavit: eum, qui regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum, quibuscum voluit, partitus est: eum, qui, plurimis cædibus in foro factis, singulari virtute et gloriâ civem domum vi et armis compulit: eum, cui nihil unquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in libidine: eum, qui ædem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis, tabulis publicis impressam, extingueret: eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum termini; qui, non calumniâ litium, non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis, alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis, petebat; qui non solùm Etruscos, (eos enim penitus contempserat) sed hunc Q. Varium, virum fortissimum, atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est; qui, cùm architectis et

decempedis, villas multorum hortosque peragrabat; qui Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum terminabat suarum; qui cùm ab equite Romano splendidissimo et forti viro, T. Pacavio, non impetrâsset, ut insulam in lacu Prelio venderet, repentè lintribus in eam insulam materiam, calcem, cæmenta, atque arma, convexit; dominoque trans ripam inspectante, non dubitavit ædificium extruere in alieno; qui huic T. Furfanio, cui viro! Dii immortales! (quid enim ego de mulierculâ Scantiâ, quid de adolescente Aponio, dicam? quorum utrique mortem est minitatus, nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessisset) sed ausus est Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantam poposcerat, non dedisset, mortuum se in domum ejus illaturum; quâ invidiâ huic esset tali viro conflagrandum; qui Appium fratrem, hominem mihi conjunctum fidissimâ gratiâ, absentem de possessione fundi dejecit; qui parietem sic per vestibulum sororis instituit ducere, sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modò vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.

XXVIII. Quanquam hæc quidem jam tolerabilia videbantur; etsi æqualiter in rempublicam, in privatos, in longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos, irruebat; sed, nescio quomodo, jam usu obduruerat et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia. Quæ verò aderant jam, et impendebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis, aut ferre? Imperium si ille nactus esset .... omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se potiùs mitteret, quàm in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? a liberis, a liberis, (medius fidius) et a conjugibus vestris, nunquam ille effrænatas suas libidines cohibuisset. Fingi hæc putatis, quæ patent? hæc, quæ nota sunt omnibus? quæ tenentur? servorum exercitus illum in Urbe conscripturum fuisse, per quos totam rempublicam, resque privatas omnium, possideret.

Quamobrem, si, cruentum gladium tenens, clamaret T. Annius: "Adeste, quæso, atque audite, cives! P. Clodium interfeci: ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis, frænare poteramus, hoc ferro et hac dextrâ a cervicibus vestris repuli; per me ut unum, jus, æquitas, leges, libertas, pudor, pudicitia, in civitate manerent;" esset verò timendum, quonam modo id ferret civitas? Nunc enim quis est, qui non probet? qui non laudet? qui non, unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium plurimùm reipublicæ profuisse, maximâ lætitiâ populum Romanum, cunctam Italiam, nationes omnes, affecisse, et dicat, et sentiat? Nequeo, vetera illa

populi Romani quanta fuerint gaudia, judicare. Multas tamen jam summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias ætas nostra vidit, quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit lætitiam, nec tantam.

Mandate hoc memoriæ, judices. Spero multa vos liberosque vestros in republicâ bona esse visuros. In his singulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio, nihil eorum vos visuros fuisse. In spem maximam, et (quemadmodum confido) verissimam, adducti sumus, hunc ipsum annum, hoc ipso summo viro consule, compressâ hominum licentiâ, cupiditatibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutarem civitati fore. Num quis igitur est tam demens, qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid? ea, quæ tenetis, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod jus perpetuæ possessionis habere potuissent?

XXIX. Non timeo, judices, ne, odio inimicitiarum mearum inflammatus, libentiùs hæc in illum evomere videar, quàm veriùs. Etenim, etsi præcipuum esse debebat; tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio penè æqualiter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii, fuerit. Quin sic attendite, judices. Nempe hæc est quæstio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis: liberæ enim sunt cogitationes nostræ, et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, ut ea cernimus, quæ videmus. Fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meæ, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius revixerit. Quid vultu extimuistis? quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, quos mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse Cn. Pompeius, qui eâ virtute ac fortunâ est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo præter illum; si is, inquam, potuisset, ut quæstionem de morte P. Clodii ferre, sic ipsum ab inferis excitare; utrum putatis potiùs facturum fuisse? Etiam si, propter amicitiam, voluisset illum ab inferis revocare, propter rempublicam non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis sedetis ultores, cujus vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis: et de ejus nece lata quæstio est, qui si eâdem lege reviviscere posset, lata lex nunquam esset. Hujus ergo interfector qui esset, in confitendo ab iisne pœnam timeret, quos liberavisset? Græci homines Deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis! quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris! quos cantus! quæ carmina! propè ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur. Vos tanti conservatorem

populi, tanti sceleris ultorem, non modò honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiemini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libente se fecisse, libertatis omnium causâ: quod ei certè non confitendum modò fuisset, verùm etiam prædicandum.

XXX. Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur; dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? nisi verò gratius putat esse vobis, sui se capitis, quàm vestri, defensorem fuisse; cùm præsertim, in eâ confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur amplissimos. Si factum vobis non probaretur, (quanquam quî poterat salus sua cuique non probari?) sed tamen si minùs fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset; magno animo constantique cederet ex ingratâ civitate. Nam quid esset ingratius, quàm lætari cæteros, lugere eum solum, propter quem cæteri lætarentur?

Quanquam hoc animo semper fuimus omnes in patriæ proditoribus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram putaremus. Nam quæ mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, cùm tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, si id, quod conabar, sine maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitrarer? Quæ mulier sceleratum ac perniciosum civem occidere non auderet, si periculum non timeret? Propositâ invidiâ, morte, pœnâ, qui nihilo segniùs rempublicam defendit, is vir verè putandus est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere benè meritos de republicâ cives; viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, ut fortiter fecisse pœniteat.

Quamobrem, uteretur eâdem confessione T. Annius, quâ Ahala, quâ Nasica, quâ Opimius, quâ Marius, quâ nosmet ipsi: et, si grata respublica esset, læteretur; si ingrata, tamen, in gravi fortunâ, conscientiâ suâ niteretur.

Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna populi Romani, et vestra felicitas, et Dii immortales, sibi deberi putant. Nec verò quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit, numenve divinum: quem neque imperii vestri magnitudo, neque sol ille, nec cœli signorumque motus, nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque (id, quod maximum est) majorum nostrorum sapientia; qui sacra, qui cærimonias, qui auspicia, et ipsi sanctissimè coluerunt, et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.

XXXI. Est, est profectò illa vis: neque, in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostrâ, inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat; et non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præ-

claro motu: nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet, nec cernitur: proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, quâ sapimus, quâ providemus, quâ hæc ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre, aut planè, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis, ea est igitur ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, quæ illam perniciem exstinxit ac sustulit; cui primùm mentem injecit, ut vi irritare, ferroque lacessere, fortissimum virum auderet, vinceretur que ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, judices, Deorum immortalium curâ, res illa perfecta. Religiones (mehercule) ipsæ, quæ illam belluam cadere viderunt, commôsse se videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim jam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque testor, vosque, Albanorum obrutæ aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille, præceps amentiâ, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat; vestræ tum aræ, vestræ religiones, viguerunt; vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat; tuque, ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque, sæpe omni nefario stupro et scelere maculârat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti: vobis illæ, vobis vestro in conspectu, seræ, sed justæ tamen et debitæ, pœnæ solutæ sunt. Nisi fortè hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut, ante ipsum sacrarium Bonæ Deæ, quod est in fundo T. Sextii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, cùm prœlium commisisset, primùm illud vulnus acciperet, quo teterrimam mortem obiret; ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem pœnam reservatus.

XXXII. Nec verò non eadem ira Deorum hanc ejus satellitibus injecit amentiam, ut, sine imaginibus, sine cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate quam concedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur abjectus. Non fuisse credo fas, clarissimorum virorum formas illi teterrimo parricidæ aliquid decoris afferre, neque ullo in loco potiùs mortem ejus lacerari, quàm in quo vita esset damnata.

Mira mihi (medius fidius) jam fortuna populi Romani, et crudelis, videbatur, quæ tot annos illum in hanc rempublicam insultare videret et pateretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas religiones: senatûs gravissima decreta perfregerat: pecuniâ se palàm a judicibus redemerat: vexârat in tribunatu sena-

tum: omnium ordinum consensu pro salute reipublicæ gesta resciderat: me patriâ expulerat; bona diripuerat; domum incenderat; liberos, conjugem meam, vexaverat: Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat: magistratuum privatorumque cædes fecerat: domum mei fratris incenderat: vastârat Etruriam: multos sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat. Instabat, urgebat: capere ejus amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna, non poterant. Incidebantur jam domi leges, quæ nos nostris servis addicerent: nihil erat cujusquam, quod quidem ille adamâsset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret. Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo, præter Milonem. Ipsum illum, qui poterat obstare, novo reditu in gratiam quasi devinctum arbitrabatur: Cæsaris potentiam suam esse dicebat: bonorum animos etiam in meo casu contempserat: Milo unus urgebat.

XXXIII. Hîc Dii immortales (ut suprà dixi) mentem dederunt illi perdito ac furioso, ut huic faceret insidias. Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit: nunquam illum respublica suo jure esset ulta. Senatus (credo) prætorem eum circumscripsisset. Ne, cùm solebat quidem id facere, in privato eodem hoc, aliquid profecerat. An consules in prætore coërcendo fortes fuissent? Primùm, Milone occiso, habuisset suos consules. Deinde, quis in eo prætore consul fortis esset, per quem tribunum, virum consularem crudelissimè vexatum esse meminisset? Oppressisset omnia, possideret, teneret, lege novâ, quæ est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis: servos nostros libertos suos fecisset. Postremò, nisi eum Dii immortales in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effœminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rempublicam nullam haberetis.

An ille prætor, ille verò consul, si modò hæc templa atque ipsa mœnia stare eo vivo tamdiu, et consulatum ejus exspectare potuissent, ille denique vivus, mali nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus Sex. Clodio duce, curiam incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid luctuosius, vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput [urbis,] aram sociorum, portum omnium gentium, sedem ab universo populo Romano concessam uni ordini, inflammari, exscindi, funestari! neque id fieri a multitudine imperitâ (quanquam esset miserum id ipsum), sed ab uno; qui, cùm tantum ausus sit ustor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset ausus? In curiam potissimùm abjecit, ut eam mortuus incenderet, quam vivus everterat.

Et sunt, qui de viâ Appiâ querantur, taceant de curiâ? et qui ab eo spirante forum putent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri curia? Excitate, excitate eum, si potestis, ab inferis. Frangetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sustinetis furias insepulti? nisi verò sustinuistis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam cucurrerunt, cum falcibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto foro volitârunt. Cædi vidistis populum Romanum, concionem gladiis disturbari, cùm audiretur silentio M. Cœlius, tribunus plebis, vir et in re publicâ fortissimus, et in susceptâ causâ firmissimus, et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati senatûs deditus, et, in hac Milonis sive invidiâ sive fortunâ singulari, divinâ et incredibili fide.

XXXIV. Sed jam satis multa de causâ: extra causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, judices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat; ego, etiam repugnante hoc, et imploro, et exposco? Nolite, si, in nostro omnium fletu, nullam lacrymam adspexistis Milonis; si vultum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem, stabilem ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minùs ei parcere: atque haud scio, an multò etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim, si, in gladiatoriis pugnis, et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortunâ, timidos et supplices, et, ut vivere liceat, obsecrantes, etiam odisse solemus; fortes, et animosos, et se acriter ipsos morti offerentes, servare cupimus; eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quàm qui illam efflagitant; quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus!

Me quidem, judices, exanimant et interimunt hæ voces Milonis, quas audio assiduè, et quibus intersum quotidie. "Valeant, valeant," inquit, "cives mei; valeant: sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati: stet hæc urbs præclara, mihique patria carissima, quoquo modo merita de me erit. Tranquillâ republicâ cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur: ego cedam, atque abibo. Si mihi republicâ bonâ frui non licuerit, at carebo malâ: et, quam primam tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in eâ conquiescam. O frustra" (inquit) "suscepti mei labores! o spes fallaces! o cogitationes inanes meæ! Ego, cùm, tribunus plebis, republicâ oppressâ, me senatui dedissem, quem exstinctum acceperam; equitibus Romanis, quorum vires erant debiles; bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant; mihi unquam bonorum præsidium defuturum putarem? Ego, cùm

te" (mecum enim sæpissime loquitur) "patriæ reddidissem, mihi futurum in patriâ non putarem locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem secuti sumus? ubi equites Romani illi, illi" (inquit) "tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italiæ voces? ubi denique tua, M. Tulli, quæ plurimis fuit auxilio, vox et defensio? mihine ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?"

XXXV. Nec verò hæc, judices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim, se, negat, ingratis civibus fecisse, quæ fecerit: timidis, et omnia circumspicientibus pericula, non negat. Plebem et infimam multitudinem, quæ, P. Clodio duce, fortunis vestris imminebat, eam, quò tutior esset vita nostra, suam se fecisse commemorat; ut non modò virtute flecteret, sed etiam tribus suis patrimoniis deleniret: nec timet, ne, cùm plebem muneribus placârit, vos non conciliârit meritis in rempublicam singularibus. Senatûs erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis sæpe esse perspectam; vestras verò et vestrorum ordinum occursationes, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse, dicit.

Meminit etiam, sibi vocem præconis modò defuisse, quam minimè desiderârit; populi verò cunctis suffragiis, (quod unum cupierit) se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, si hæc arma contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, non facti crimen, obstare. Addit hæc, quæ certè vera sunt, fortes et sapientes viros non tam præmia sequi solere rectè factorum, quàm ipsa rectè facta: se nihil in vitâ, nisi præclarissimè, fecisse; siquidem nihil sit præstabilius viro, quàm periculis patriam liberare: beatos esse, quibus ea res honori fuerit a suis civibus; nec tamen eos miseros, qui beneficio cives suos vicerint: sed tamen, ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam: esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoriâ consolaretur: quæ efficeret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam homines in cœlum viderentur ascendere. "De me," inquit, "semper populus Romanus, semper omnes gentes loquentur; nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas. Quin hoc tempore ipso, cùm omnes a meis inimicis faces meæ invidiæ subjiciuntur; tamen omni in hominum cœtu, gratiis agendis, et gratulationibus habendis, et omni sermone, celebramur. Omitto Etruriæ festos, et actos et institutos, dies: centesima lux est hæc ab interitu P. Clodii; et (opinor) ultra quàm fines imperii populi Romani sunt, ea

non solùm fama jam de illo, sed etiam lætitia, peragravit Quamobrem, ubi corpus hoc sit, non," inquit, "laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris et jam versatur, et semper habitabit, nominis mei gloria."

XXXVI. Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his absentibus: sed, iisdem audientibus, hæc ego tecum, Milo. Te quidem, cùm isto animo es, satis laudare non possum: sed, quò est ista magis divina virtus, eò majore a te dolore divellor. Nec verò, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa saltem ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi; non malè aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optimè. Nullum unquam, judices, mihi tantum dolorem inuretis, (etsi quis potest esse tantus?) sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. Quæ si vos cepit oblivio, aut si in me aliquid offendistis; cur non id meo capite potiùs luitur, quàm Milonis? Præclarè enim vixero, si quid mihi acciderit priùs, quàm hoc tantum mali videro.

Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quòd tibi, T. Anni, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis, officium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi: ego meum sæpe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum tuorum: ego me plurimis pro te supplicem abjeci: bona, fortunas meas, ac liberorum meorum in communionem tuorum temporum contuli: hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est parata, si qua deminutio capitis futura, deposco. Quid jam restat? quid habeo, quod dicam, quod faciam, pro tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non recuso, non abnuo: vosque obsecro, judices, ut vestra beneficia, quæ in me contulistis, aut in hujus salute augeatis, aut in ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

XXXVII. His lacrymis non movetur Milo. Est quodam incredibili robore animi. exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus: mortem naturæ finem esse, non pœnam. Sit hic eâ mente, quâ natus est: quid vos, judices? quo tandem animo eritis? Memoriam Milonis retinebitis; ipsum ejicietis? et erit dignior locus in terris ullus, qui hanc virtutem excipiat, quàm hic, qui procreavit? Vos, vos appello, fortissimi viri, qui multum pro republicâ sanguinem effudistis; vos, in viri et in civis invicti appello periculo, centuriones, vosque, milites: vobis non modò inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis, et huic judicio præsidentibus, hæc tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur? exterminabitur? projicietur?

O me miserum! o infelicem! Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos: ego te in patriâ per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Q. frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? me non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem, per quos nostram ille servâsset? At in quâ causâ non potuisse? quæ est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? ab iis, qui maximè P. Clodii morte acquiêrunt. Quo deprecante? me.

Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judices, cùm illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, protuli, exstinxi? Omnes in me meosque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem restitutus? Nolite, obsecro vos, pati, mihi acerbiorem reditum esse, quàm fuerit illè ipse discessus. Nam quî possum putare me restitutum esse, si distrahor ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?

XXXVIII. Utinam Dii immortales fecissent, (pace tuâ, patria, dixerim: metuo enim, ne sceleratè dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam piè:) utinam P. Clodius non modò viveret, sed etiam prætor, consul, dictator, esset potiùs, quàm hoc spectaculum viderem. O Dii immortales! fortem, et a vobis, judices, conservandum virum! "Minimè, minimè," inquit: "immo verò pœnas ille debitas luerit; nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas." Hiccine vir, patriæ natus, usquam, nisi in patriâ, morietur? aut, si fortè, pro patriâ? Hujus vos animi monumenta retinebitis; corporis in Italiâ nullum sepulcrum esse patiemini? Hunc suâ quisquam sententiâ ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes, expulsum a vobis, ad se vocabunt? O terram illam beatam, quæ hunc virum exceperit! hanc ingratam, si ejecerit! miseram, si amiserit! Sed finis sit. Neque enim, præ lacrymis, jam loqui possum; et hic se lacrymis defendi vetat. Vos oro, obtestorque, judices, ut, in sententiis ferendis, quod sentietis, id audeatis. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem, (mihi credite) is maximè probabit, qui, in judicibus legendis, optimum et sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque legit.

ORATIO

IN M. ANTONIUM.

I. Quonam meo fato, Patres Conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo, his annis viginti, reipublicæ fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec verò necesse est a me quenquam nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi pœnarum illi plùs, quàm optarem, dederunt; te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minùs mirabar: nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me reipublicæ causâ lacessiti. Tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quàm L. Catilina, furiosior quàm P. Clodius, viderere, ultro maledictis me lacessisti: tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad cives impios fore putavisti.

Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video, nec in vitâ, nec in gratiâ, nec in rebus gestis, nec in hac meâ mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillimè de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestæ reipublicæ testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatæ, dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? hoc quidem beneficium est: quid enim plenius, quid uberius, quàm mihi et pro me, et contra Antonium, dicere? Illud profectò est: non existimavit, sui similibus probari posse, se esse hostem patriæ, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui prius quàm de cæteris rebus respondeo, de amicitiâ, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, (quod ego gravissimum crimen judico) pauca dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me, nescio quando, venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario meo? non venirem contra gratiam, non virtutis spe, sed ætatis flore, collectam? non venirem contra injuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non jure prætorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, ut te infimo ordini commendares, cùm te omnes recordarentur libertini generum, et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadii, libertini hominis, fuisse.

At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras (nam ita dixisti): domum meam ventitâras. Næ tu, si id fecisses, meliùs famæ, meliùs pudicitiæ tuæ, consuluisses. Sed nec fecisti, nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset. Auguratûs petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! o impudentiam prædicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt (neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari), tu nec solvendo eras, nec te ullo modo, nisi eversâ republicâ, incolumem fore putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cùm in Italiâ Curio non esset? aut tum, cùm es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cujus etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quòd tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. At beneficio sum usus tuo. Quo? quanquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper præ me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri, quàm cuiquam minùs prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quòd me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor (qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum) salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire jussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse: quod est aliud, Patres Conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant servati, (quos tu ipse viros clarissimos appellare soles) tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Quâ in re, non tam jucundum videri mihi debuit, non interfectum a te, quàm miserum, id te impunè facere potuisse.

Sed sit beneficium, quandoquidem majus accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu reipublicæ queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? Nam, in illâ querelâ, (miserâ quidem et luctuosâ, sed mihi, pro hoc gradu in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessariâ) quid est dictum a me cum contumeliâ? quid non moderatè? quid non amicè? Et quidem cujus temperantiæ fuit, de M. Antonio querentem, abstinere maledicto? præsertim cùm tu reliquias reipublicæ dissipavisses; cùm domi tuæ turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia; cùm leges eas, quæ nunquam promulgatæ essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere; cùm auspicia augur, intercessionem consul, sustulisses; cùm esses fœdissimè stipatus armatis; cùm omnes impuritates pudicâ in domo quotidie susciperes, vino

lustrisque confectus. At ego, tanquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multæ et magnæ fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de republicâ graviter querens, de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam, ut intelligat quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, homo et humanitatis expers, et vitæ communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paulùm modò bonorum consuetudinem nôsset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliquâ interpositâ, in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud, tollere e vitâ vitæ societatem, quàm tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quàm multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quæ, prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quàm multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda!

Sit hoc inhumanitatis tuæ: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes, quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustellæ Tamisio et Tironi Numisio videâris? qui cùm hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatûs, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quomodo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas tandem, si negem, me unquam istas literas ad te misisse? quo me teste convincas? an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quæstuosam. Quî possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Jam invideo magistro tuo, qui te, tantâ mercede, quantam jam proferam, nihil sapere docuit.

Quid enim est minùs, non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quàm id objicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negârit, longiùs progredi non possit, qui objecerit? At ego non nego: teque in isto ipso convinco, non inhumanitatis solùm, sed etiam amentiæ. Quod enim verbum in istis literis est, non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiæ? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quòd de te in his literis non malè existimem; quòd scribam tanquam ad civem, tanquam ad bonum virum, non tanquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas literas (etsi jure poteram, a te lacessitus) tamen non proferam; quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere; adjurasque, id te, invito me, non esse facturum: idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciæ tuæ, quam neque auctoritas hujus ordinis, neque existimatio populi Romani, neque leges ullæ possent coërcere? Veruntamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Cæsaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse; in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla poterat esse, lege latâ.

V. Sed cùm mihi, Patres Conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint; alterum peto a vobis ut me, pro me dicentem, benignè; alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum cùm dicam, attentè audiatis. Simul illud oro: si meam, cùm in omni vitâ, tum in dicendo, moderationem modestiamque cognôstis, ne me hodie, cùm isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quòd ita vivit, vel quòd ita rem publicam gerit, vel quòd ita factus est consul: ego, sine ullâ controversiâ, consularis.

Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, objecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus, verbo meus, Patres Conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi, nisi ex hujus ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententiâ? Hæc tu, homo sapiens, non solùm eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiâque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem, meum consulatum, præter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? cujus quidem te fatum, sicuti C. Curionem, manet; quoniam id domi tuæ est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.

Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proximè mortuus est: placuit Q. Lutatio Catulo, cujus semper in hac republicâ vivet auctoritas: placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, M. Lepido, C. Pisoni, M' Glabrioni, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, et L. Murenæ, qui tum erant consules designati: placuit idem, quod consularibus, M. Catoni: qui cùm multa, vitâ excedens, providit, tum quòd te consulem non vidit. Maximè verò consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primùm decedens ex Syriâ vidit, complexus et gratulans, meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non, ut parenti, gratias ageret; qui non mihi vitam suam, liberos, fortunas, rempublicam referret acceptam.

VI. Sed, quoniam illis quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris, respublica orbata est; veniamus ad vivos, qui duo e consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio, summâque prudentiâ, rebus iis gestis quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis: eique illi ipsi, quos modò nominavi, consulares, senatusque cunctus assensus est: qui honos, post conditam hanc urbem, habitus est

togato ante me nemini. L. Cæsar, avunculus tuus, quâ oratione, quâ constantiâ, quâ gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suæ virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cùm auctorem et præceptorem omnium consiliorum, totiusque vitæ, debuisses habere, vitrici te similem, quàm avunculi, esse maluisti. Hujus ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum unquam de re publicâ retulisti? At ad quos refert? Dii immortales! ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt.

Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat natalitia in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo: putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum Ballioni. O fœditatem hominis flagitiosam! o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem, non ferendam! Tu, cùm principem senatorem, civem singularem, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publicâ nihil refers; ad eos refers, qui domum suam nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus!

VII. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitiâ perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum præsidebat, consulebam; tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocâsti? At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?) clivum Capitolinum dicere, me consule, plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa (credo) nefaria senatûs-consulta fierent, vim afferebam senatui. O miserum, sive illa tibi nota non sunt, (nihil enim boni nôsti) sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis (præter te) adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem meminisset, cùm senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quanquam nec scribæ sufficere, nec tabulæ nomina illorum capere, potuerunt. Etenim, cùm homines nefarii de patriæ parricidio confiterentur (consciorum indiciis, suâ manu, voce penè literarum coacti), se Urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rempublicam, consensisse; quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? præsertim cùm senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod illis accidit, contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc verò ne P. quidem Clodius dixit unquam: quem, quia jure ei fui inimicus, doleo a te jam omnibus vitiis esse superatum. Quî autem tibi venit in mentem, redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An vere-

bare, ne non putaremus naturâ te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut, totâ in oratione, tecum ipse pugnares; ut non modò non cohærentia inter se diceres, sed maximè disjuncta atque contraria; ut non tanta mecum, quanta tecum, tibi esset contentio? Vitricum tuum in tanto fuisse scelere fatebare; pœnâ affectum querebare. Ita, quod propriè meum est, laudâsti: quod totum senatûs est, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio sontium, mea; animadversio, senatûs fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit, eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se; eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari.

Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciæ, (cupit enim se audacem dici) sed (quod minimè vult) stultitiæ, quâ vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cùm inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cùm in hac cellâ Concordiæ, (o Dii immortales!) in quâ, me consule, salutares sententiæ dictæ sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent. Accusa senatum: accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit: accusa omnes ordines, omnes cives, dum confiteare, hunc ordinem, hoc ipso tempore, ab Ithyræis circumsederi. Hæc tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non vides. Nihil profectò sapis. Quid est enim dementius, quàm, cùm ipse reipublicæ perniciosa arma ceperis, objicere alteri salutaria?

At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quàm id (Dii boni!) non decebat! In quo est tua culpa nonnulla: aliquid enim salis ab uxore mimâ trahere potuisti. "Cedant arma togæ." Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quæramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit; libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma, an libertatem nostram armis tuis, cedere. Nec verò tibi de versibus respondebo: tantum dicam breviter, neque illos neque ullas te omnino literas nôsse: me nec reipublicæ nec amicis unquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse operis subsecivis, ut meæ vigiliæ, meæque literæ, et juventuti utilitatis, et nomini Romano laudis, aliquid afferrent. Sed hæc non hujus temporis: ad majora veniamus.

IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cùm tu illum in foro, inspectante populo Romano, gladio stricto insecutus es, negotiumque transegisses, nisi ille se in scalas tabernæ librariæ conjecisset, hisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? [Sed] quid? ego favisse me tibi fateor; sua-

sisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui: priùs enim rem transegit, quàm quisquam eum suspicaretur facturum esse. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse reipublicæ sine suasore non posset. At lætatus sum. Quid ergo? in tantâ lætitiâ cunctæ civitatis, me unum tristem esse oportebat?

Quanquam de morte P. Clodii fuit quæstio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta. Quid enim attinebat novâ lege quæri de eo qui hominem occidisset, cùm esset legibus quæstio constituta? quæsitum est tamen. Quod ergo, cùm res agebatur, nemo in me dixit; id, tot annis pòst, tu es inventus qui diceres?

Quòd vero dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis, operâ meâ Pompeium a Cæsaris amicitiâ esse disjunctum, ob eamque causam meâ culpâ civile bellum esse natum; in eo non tu quidem totâ re, sed (quod maximum est) temporibus; errâsti.

X. Ego M. Bibulo, præstantissimo cive, consule, nihil prætermisi, (quantum facere enitique potui) quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem. In quo Cæsar fuit felicior: ipse enim Pompeium a meâ familiaritate disjunxit. Postea verò quàm se totum Pompeius Cæsari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare; suadere, impudentis.

Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Cæsari prorogaret; alterum, ne pateretur ferri, ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias nunquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cùm jam omnes opes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset; seròque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego antè multò prævideram, inferrique patriæ bellum nefarium viderem; pacis, concordiæ, compositionis, auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox est nota multis: "Utinàm, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coîsses, aut nunquam diremisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiæ tuæ." Hæc mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de republicâ consilia fuerunt; quæ si valuissent, respublica staret; tu, tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamiâ, concidisses.

XI. Sed hæc vetera: illud verò recens, Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. Jam vereor, Patres Conscripti, ne (quod turpissimum est) prævaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non solùm meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam

oneraret alienis. Quis enim meum in istius gloriosissimi facti conscientiâ nomen audivit? cujus autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? cujus non statim divulgatum? Citiùs dixerim, jactâsse se aliquos, ut fuisse in istâ societate viderentur, qui socii non fuissent, quàm ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset.

Quàm verisimile porrò est, in tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim, si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalæ? His igitur majoribus orti, ab alienis potiùs consilium peterent, quàm a suis? et foris potiùs, quàm domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in eâ familiâ natus, quæ non modò dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem, cujusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem (credo) desideravit: qui, etiam sine his clarissimis viris, hanc rem in Ciliciâ, ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam, naves appulisset. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors non spoliatio dignitatis, ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas, excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam majorem ei respublica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præposuit, depulsorque dominatûs, quàm particeps, esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quàm facturum putavi. Admiratus sum autem ob eam causam, quòd immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ, fuisset. Quid duos Servilios, Cascas dicam, an Ahalas? et hos auctoritate meâ censes excitatos potiùs, quàm caritate reipublicæ? Longum est persequi cæteros: idque reipublicæ præclarum, fuisse tam multos; ipsis gloriosum.

XII. At, quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. "Cæsare interfecto," inquit, "statim cruentum altè extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Cur mihi potissimùm? quòd sciebam? Vide, ne illa causa fuerit appellandi me, quòd, cùm rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis quas ipse gesseram, me potissimùm testatus est, se æmulum mearum laudum exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Cæsarem, crimen sit; etiam, lætatum esse morte Cæsaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem

facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrùm voluerim fieri, an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur, te excepto, et iis qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbârit? omnes ergo in culpâ: etenim omnes boni (quantum in ipsis fuit) Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio, defuit; voluntas nemini.

Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam pecudis, attendite. Sic enim dixit: "M. Brutus, (quem ego honoris causâ nomino) cruentum pugionem tenens, Ciceronem exclamavit: ex quo intelligi debet, eum conscium fuisse." Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris: ille, qui stillantem præ se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causâ nominatur? Esto: sit in verbis tuis hic stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque major! Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando; Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum, quam velis esse causam: edormi crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendæ sunt, quæ te excitent, tantæ causæ indormientem? Nunquamne intelliges, statuendum tibi esse, utrùm illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidæ sint, an vindices libertatis?

XIII. Attende enim paulisper, cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quidquam esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque reipublicæ sint, plus quàm sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quàm parricidas, esse; siquidem est atrocius patriæ parentem, quàm suum, occidere. Tu, homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidæ, cur honoris causâ a te sunt, et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum, semper appellati? Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab Urbe plus quàm decem dies abfuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciæ Cassio et Bruto datæ? cur quæstores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicidæ. Sequitur, ut liberatores tuo judicio sint; quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse.

Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis, quæ distinctiùs dicuntur, intelligis. Sed tamen hæc est summa conclusionis meæ: Quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem te amplissimis præmiis dignissimi judicati sunt. Itaque jam retexo orationem meam: scribam ad illos, ut, si qui fortè, quod a te mihi objectum est, quærent, sitne verum; ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut, celatum me ab ipsis, illis non honestum; aut invitatum refugisse, mihi sit turpis-

simum. Quæ enim res unquam (pro, sancte Jupiter!) non modò in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris, est gesta major? quæ gloriosior? quæ commendatior erit hominum memoriæ sempiternæ? In hujus me tu consilii societatem, tanquam in equum Trojanum, cum principibus includis? Non recuso: ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis; tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparem.

Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te prædicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus, aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, quò accesserint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cùm eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitæ fructum putent? quæ verò tam immemor posteritas, quæ tam ingratæ literæ reperientur, quæ eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoriâ prosequantur? Tu verò adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. Sed unam rem vereor, ne non probes. Si enim fuissem, non solùm regem, sed regnum etiam, de republicâ sustulissem: et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, (mihi crede) non solùm unum actum, sed totam fabulam, confecissem. Quanquam, si interfici Cæsarem voluisse, crimen est, vide, quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est; et, ob ejus consilii societatem, cùm interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem, (vide quàm tecum agam non inimicè) quòd benè cogitâsti aliquando, laudo: quòd non indicâsti, gratias ago: quòd non fecisti, ignosco. Virum res illa quærebat.

Quòd si te in judicium quis adducat, usurpetque illud Cassianum, CUI BONO FUERIT; vide, quæso, ne hæreas. Quanquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant; tibi tamen præcipuè, qui non modò non servis, sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te ære alieno ad ædem Opis liberâsti; qui, per easdem tabulas, innumerabilem pecuniam dissipâsti; ad quem e domo Cæsaris tam multa delata sunt; cujus domus quæstuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina; agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium, flagitiosissimæ nundinæ. Etenim quæ res egestati et æri alieno tuo, præter mortem Cæsaris, subvenire potuisset?

Nescio quid conturbatus mihi esse vidêris. Nunquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet unquam: non est tuum de republicâ benè mereri: habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros

respublica auctores: ego te tantùm gaudere dico; fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. Castra mihi Pompeii, atque illud omne tempus, objecisti. Quo quidem tempore si (ut dixi) meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset; tu hodie egeres; nos liberi essemus; respublica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim, me, cùm ea, quæ acciderunt, providerem futura, tantâ in mœstitiâ fuisse, quantâ cæteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, Patres Conscripti, rempublicam, vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam, brevi tempore esse perituram. Neque verò eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitæ cupiditatem, quæ me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa, molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego præstantissimos viros, lumina reipublicæ, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot prætorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem præterea florem nobilitatis ac juventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniquâ conditione pacis, (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur) rempublicam hodie teneremus. Quæ sententia si valuisset, ac non ii maximè mihi, quorum ego vitæ consulebam, spe victoriæ elati, obstitissent; ut alia omittam, tu certè nunquam in hoc ordine, vel potiùs in hac urbe, mansisses.

At verò Cn. Pompeii voluntatem a me abalienabat oratio mea. An ille quenquam plùs dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit sæpius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summâ re dissentientes, in eâdem consuetudine amicitiæ permanere. Sed et ego, quid ille, et contrà ille, quid ego et sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primùm, et postea dignitati; ille præsenti dignitati potiùs consulebat. Quòd autem habebat uterque quod sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid verò ille singularis vir, ac penè divinus, de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalicâ fugâ Paphum prosecuti sunt. Nunquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii; cùm me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et ejus viri nomine me insectari audes, cujus me amicum, te sectorem, esse fateare?

XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimiùm felix fuisti. Ne jocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant illa quidem castra plena curæ: veruntamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen,

si modò homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quòd autem idem mœstitiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hæreditates mihi negâsti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed quî istuc tibi venit in mentem? ego enim amplius HS ducenties acceptum hæreditatibus retuli. Quanquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit hæredem, ut, cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor jungeretur: te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam, L. Rubrius Cassinas, fecit hæredem. Et quidem vide, quàm te amârit is, qui, albus aterve fueris, ignorans, fratris filium præteriit; Q. Furii, honestissimi equitis Romani, suique amicissimi, quem palàm hæredem semper factitârat, ne nomen quidem perscripsit; te, quem nunquam viderat, ac nunquam salutaverat, fecit hæredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius quâ facie fuerit, quâ staturâ, quo municipio, quâ tribu. Nihil scio, inquies, nisi quæ prædia habuerit. Igitur, fratrem exhæredans, te faciebat hæredem. In multas præterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum, ejectis veris hæredibus, tanquam hæres esset, invasit. Quanquam hoc maximè admiratus sum, mentionem te hæreditatum ausum esse facere, cùm ipse hæreditatem patris non adîsses.

XVII. Hæc ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in alienâ villâ declamâsti? quanquam tu quidem, (ut tui familiarissimi dictitant) vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi, causâ, declamitas. Et verò adhibes, joci causâ, magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum, rhetorem; cui concessisti, ut in te, quæ vellet, diceret. Salsum omnino hominem! sed materia facilis est, in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid inter te et avum tuum intersit. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causæ prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena.

At quanta merces rhetori data est? Audite, audite, Patres Conscripti; et cognoscite reipublicæ vulnera. Duo millia jugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori assignâsti, et quidem immunia, ut, pro tantâ mercede, nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Cæsaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano; quos iste agros, ereptos reipublicæ, turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Jam enim, quoniam criminibus ejus satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quædam dicenda sunt: nec enim omnia effun-

dam; ut, si sæpius decertandum sit (ut erit), semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

XVIII. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic opinor. A principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoriâ, prætextatum te decoxisse? Patris, inquies, ista culpa est. Concedo: etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciæ tuæ, quòd sedisti in quatuordecim ordinibus, cùm esset, lege Rosciâ, decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunæ vitio, non suo, decoxisset.

Sumpsisti virilem togam, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti: primò vulgare scortum: certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva. Sed citò Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quæstu abduxit; et, tanquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo locavit.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causâ, tam fuit in domini potestate, quàm tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo suâ ejecit? quoties custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cùm tu tamen, nocte sociâ, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere: quæ flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne, me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cùm pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto: filius, se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans, te mihi commendabat; orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagies peteret, defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse. Ipse autem, amore ardens, confirmabat, quòd desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium esse iturum.

Quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi, vel potiùs sustuli. Patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret: redimeret adolescentem, summâ spe et animi et ingenii præditum, rei familiaris facultatibus; eumque a tuâ non modò familiaritate, sed etiam congressione, patrio jure et potestate prohiberet. Hæc tu cùm per me acta meminisses; nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

XIX. Sed jam stupra et flagitia omittam: sunt quædam, quæ honestè non possum dicere: tu autem eò liberior, quòd ea in te admisisti, quæ a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitæ cursum videte: quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad hæc enim, quæ in civili bello, in maximis reipublicæ miseriis, fecit, et ad ea quæ quotidie facit, festinat animus. Quæ, peto, ut, quanquam multò notiora vobis quàm mihi sunt, tamen (ut facitis) attentè

audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos, non cognitio solùm rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Tametsi incidamus oportet media, ne nimis serò ad extrema veniamus.

Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; ejus omnium incendiorum fax. Cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est: quid dicam, ipse optimè intelligit. Iter inde Alexandriam contra senatûs auctoritatem, contra religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quîcum quidvis rectissimè facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus, aut qualis? Priùs in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto, quàm domum. Quæ autem erat domus? suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat; neque erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres, præter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis, tanquam Sisaponem, tenebas?

XX. Venisti e Galliâ ad quæsturam petendam. Aude dicere, te priùs ad [parentem tuam] venisse, quàm ad me. Acceperam enim jam antè Cæsaris literas, ut mihi satisfieri paterer a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratiâ. Postea custoditus sum a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quæsturæ: quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, approbante populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere: cùmque eam rem tuâ sponte conarere, non impulsu meo; tamen ita prædicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi, pro tuis in me injuriis, satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cùm te, ultro mihi idem illud deferentem, nunquam sim adhortatus: quanquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebam, quàm ad meam gratiam.

Quæstor es factus, deinde continuò, sine senatûs-consulto, sine sorte, sine lege, ad Cæsarem cucurristi: id enim unum in terris, egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis vitæ rationibus, perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cùm et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses (si hoc est explere, quod statim effundas), advolâsti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quæso, non ea, quæ ipse in se, atque in domesticum dedecus, impurè atque intemperanter, sed quæ in nos fortunasque nostras, id est, in universam rempublicam, impiè ac nefariè, fecerit. Ab hujus enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam, cùm, L. Lentulo, C. Marcello, consulibus, Calendis Januariis, labantem et propè cadentem rempublicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Cæsari, si sanâ mente esset, consulere vel-

letis; tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit; cervicesque suas ei subjecit securi, quâ multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te autem, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus (et quidem incolumis, nondum tot luminibus exstinctis), quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more majorum. Et tu apud Patres Conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cùm ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis, reipublicæ judicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit (quod quidem erit, si per te licuerit, sempiternum), tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.

Quid cupidè a senatu, quid temerè fiebat, cùm tu, unus, adolescens, universum ordinem decernere de salute reipublicæ prohibuisti? neque id semel, sed sæpius: neque tu tecum de senatûs auctoritate agi passus es. Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne delere et evertere rempublicam funditus velles, cùm te neque principes civitatis rogando, neque majores natu monendo, neque frequens senatus agendo, de venditâ atque addictâ sententiâ demovere potuit? Tum illud, multis rebus antè tentatis, necessariò tibi vulnus inflictum, quod paucis ante te: quorum incolumis fuit nemo. Tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus; quæ non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Cæsaris contulisses.

XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Cæsari, omnia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam dementissimi sui consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quòd intercessio neglecta, jus tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quàm hæc falsa, quàm levia; præsertim cùm omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Cæsare: tibi certè confitendum est, causam perniciosissimi belli in personâ tuâ constitisse. O miserum te, si intelligis! miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriæ prodi, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium sæculorum unquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italiâ excussos, cumque his Cn. Pompeium, qui imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit; omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent; prætores, prætorios, tribunos plebis, magnam partem senatûs, omnem sobolem juventutis, unoque verbo, rempublicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus!

Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos? interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives? eos quoque eripuit vobis Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est? afflixit Antonius. Omnia denique, quæ postea vidimus, (quid autem mali non vidimus?) si rectè ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reipublicæ, causa belli, causa pestis atque exitii, fuit. Reliquæ partes tribunatûs principio similes. Omnia perfecit, quæ, senatus, salvâ republicâ ne fieri possent, perfecerat. Cujus tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.

XXIII. Restituebat multos calamitosos: in his patrui nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto cæteros. Licinium Denticulam, de aleâ condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit: quasi verò ludere cum condemnato non liceret: sed ut, quod in aleâ perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret? absentem (credo) in reos relatum; rem indictâ causâ judicatam; nullum fuisse de aleâ lege judicium; vi oppressum, et armis; postremò, (quod de patruo tuo dicebatur) pecuniâ judicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus, et republicâ dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem: egò tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, si ita esset, ignoscerem. Hominem vero, omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro aleâ ludere, lege, quæ est de aleâ, condemnatum, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissimè studium suum ipse profitetur?

In eodem verò tribunatu, cùm Cæsar, in Hispaniam proficiscens, huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset; quæ fuit ejus peragratio itinerum? lustratio municipiorum? Scio me in rebus celebratissimis sermone omnium versari, eaque, quæ dico, dicturusque sum, notiora omnibus esse qui in Italiâ tum fuêre, quàm mihi, qui non fui. Notabo tamen singulas res: etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satisfacere vestræ scientiæ. Etenim quod unquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est? [tantam turpitudinem?] tantum dedecus?

XXIV. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis: lictores laureati antecedebant: inter quos, apertâ lecticâ, mima portabatur; quam ex oppidis municipales, homines honesti, obviàm necessariò prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam, consalutabant. Sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus; comites nequissimi; rejecta mater amicam

impuri filii, tanquam nurum, sequebatur. O miseræ mulieris fœcunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam, impressit.

Reliquorum factorum ejus, Patres Conscripti, difficilis est sanè reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est: saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium. Fuit felix, si potest ulla esse in scelere felicitas. Sed, quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quanquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua (illi secuti sunt, tu quæsîsti, ducem); tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de belli genère dicam. Victor e Thessaliâ Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti: magnum beneficium: potuisse enim fateor. Quanquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta enim est caritas patriæ, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quòd eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac, id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia a te non sit erepta; licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, præsertim cùm te hæc auditurum videres?

XXV. Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuæ mimulæ. Quid est? num mentior? Quàm miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat; ne veterani quidem exercitûs? Quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis, qui nescierit, venisse eam tibi tot dierum viam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam serò se, quem hominem secutus esset, cognoscere?

Italiæ rursus percursatio, eâdem comite mimâ; in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in Urbe auri, argenti, maximèque vini, fœda direptio. Accessit, ut, Cæsare ignaro, (cùm ille esset Alexandriæ) beneficio amicorum ejus, magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit, se suo jure cum Hippiâ vivere, et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc malè tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hæreditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas, proferam? Cogebat egestas: quò se verteret, non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio, hæreditas venerat: nondum in Cn. Pompeii locum, multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus hæres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

Sed hæc, quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: loquamur potiùs de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu, istis faucibus, istis lateribus, istâ gladiatoriâ totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippiæ nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem, non modò visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu! Si, inter cœnam, in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is, vomens, frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, gremium suum, et totum tribunal, implevit. Sed hoc ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendida.

XXVI. Cæsar Alexandriâ se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur; meâ autem sententiâ, si quis reipublicæ sit infelix, felix esse non potest. Hastâ positâ pro æde Jove Statoris, bona Cn. Pompeii (miserum me! consumptis enim lacrymis, tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii Magni, voci acerbissimæ subjecta præconis Unâ in illâ re servitutis oblita, civitas ingemuit; servientibusque animis, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam Diis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo, præter Antonium, præsertim cùm tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent. Unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidâsset audacia.

Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel (ut veriùs dicam) tantus furor, ut, primùm, cùm sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cùm Pompeii sector, non te exsecrandum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi Deos, omnes homines, et esse inimicos, et futuros scias? At quàm insolenter statim helluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cujus virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, justitiâ carior!

XXVII. In ejus igitur copias cùm se subitò ingurgitavisset, exsultabat gaudio, persona de mimo, modò egens, repentè dives. Sed, ut est apud poëtam nescio quem, "malè parta malè dilabuntur." Incredibile, ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quàm paucis, non dico mensibus, sed diebus, effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex, et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem

luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum, paucis diebus, nihil erat.

Quæ Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdin dico? quæ, si fuit, fuit animal unum: Oceanus (medius fidius) vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas, tam citò absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecæ totæ nequissimis hominibus condonabantur: alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimæ: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum: totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus: suggerebantur etiam sæpe (non enim semper ipse felix) damna aleatoria: conchyliatis Cn. Pompeii peristromatis, servorum in cellis, lectos stratos videres. Quamobrem desinite mirari, hæc tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modò unius patrimonium, quamvis amplum (ut illud fuit), sed urbes, et regna, celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset.

At ejusdem ædes etiam, et hortos. O audaciam immanem! tu ingredi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare? tu illarum ædium Diis penatibus os importunissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquandiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrymis præterire, hac te in domo tamdiu diversari non pudet? in quâ, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse jucundum.

XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra, spolia, cùm adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es; tamen et te, et tua, et tuos, nôsti. Nec verò te unquam, neque vigilantem neque in somnis, credo mente posse consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, [violentus] et furens, cùm tibi objecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam sæpe vigilantem. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat, nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more, et sanctissimâ disciplinâ? Fuit enim ille vir, Patres Conscripti, (sicut scitis) cùm forìs clarus, tum domi admirandus; neque rebus externis magis laudandus, quàm institutis domesticis. Hujus in sedibus, pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinæ, sunt. Etsi jam negat. Nolite, nolite quærere. Frugi factus est: mimam illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit, ex Duodecim Tabulis: claves ademit; exegit. Quàm porrò spectatus civis, quàm probatus, cujus ex omni vitâ nihil est honestius, quàm quòd cum mimâ fecit divortium? At quàm crebrò usurpat "Et consul et Antonius!" hoc est dicere, et consul, et impudicissimus: et consul, et homo nequissi-

mus: quid enim est aliud Antonius? Nam, si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset (credo) aliquando avus tuus se "et consulem et Antonium." Nunquam dixit. Dixisset etiam collega meus, patruus tuus: nisi tu solus es Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata, quæ non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rempublicam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est, ad civile bellum; quod natum, conflatum, susceptum, operâ tuâ est.

XXIX. Cur ei bello [tum propter timiditatem tuam tum propter libidines,] defuisti? Gustâras civilem sanguinem, vel potiùs exsorbueras: fueras in acie Pharsalicâ antesignanus: L. Domitium, nobilissimum et clarissimum virum, occideras: multos, qui de prœlio effugerant, quos Cæsar, ut nonnullos, fortasse servâsset, crudelissimè persecutus trucidâras. Quibus rebus tantis, talibus, gestis, quid fuit causæ, cur in Africam Cæsarem non sequerere, cùm præsertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque, quem locum apud ipsum Cæsarem, post ejus ex Africâ reditum, obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cujus tu imperatoris quæstor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, prædæ socius, testamento (ut ipse dicebas) filius, appellatus es de pecuniâ, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione, debebas.

Primò respondisti planè ferociter: et (ne omnia videar contra te) propemodum æqua et justa dicebas. A me C. Cæsar pecuniam? cur potiùs, quàm ego ab illo? An ille sine me vicit? at ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli: ego leges perniciosas rogavi: ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra Deos patrios, arasque et focos, contra patriam, tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum præda communis? Jus postulabas: sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat.

Itaque, excussis tuis vocibus, et ad te et ad prædes tuos, milites misit; cùm, repentè a te præclarâ illâ tabulâ prolatâ, qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam! tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus præter partem Miseni, nihil erat, quod is, qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere. Auctionis verò miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompeii non multa eaque maculosa; ejusdem quædam argentea vasa collisa sordida mancipia; ut doleremus quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus.

Hanc tamen auctionem hæredes L. Rubrii, decreto Cæsaris, prohibuerunt. Hærebat nebulo: quò se verteret, non

habebat. Quin, his ipsis temporibus, domi Cæsaris, percussor, ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sicâ: de quo Cæsar in senatu, apertè in te invehens, questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Cæsar, paucis tibi ad solvendum, propter inopiam tuam, prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam citò accepisti? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

XXX. Profectus est tandem aliquando in Hispaniam sed tutò, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni; aut, cùm suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum civibus, in Thessaliâ, Africâ, Hispaniâ. Omnibus affuit his pugnis Dolabella: in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo judicio quæris; nollem: sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu verò quid censes? Cn. Pompeii liberi primùm patriam repetebant. Esto: fuerit hæc partium causa communis. Repetebant præterea Deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem; in quæ tu invaseras. Hæc cum repeterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus; etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse æqui? tamen erat æquissimum, contra Cn. Pompeii liberos, Cn. Pompeii pugnare te sectorem. An tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispaniâ dimicaret?

Qui verò Narbone reditus? et tamen quærebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subitò revertissem. Exposui nuper, Patres Conscripti, causam reditûs mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Calendas Januarias, prodesse reipublicæ. Nam, quod quærebas, quomodo redîssem; primùm luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et togâ, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacernâ. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Næ tu jam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quàm me pudeat nequitiæ tuæ, cujus te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnibus omnium flagitiis, nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres, vel potiùs rogares; is, per municipia coloniasque Galliæ, a quâ nos tum, cùm consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacernâ cucurristi.

XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Cùm horâ diei decimâ ferè ad Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quâdam cauponulâ, atque ibi se occultans, perpotavit ad vesperum: inde cisio celeriter ad Urbem advectus, domum venit capite

involuto. Janitor, Quis tu? A Marco tabellarius. Confestim ad eam, cujus causâ venerat, deducitur; eique epistolam tradit. Quam cùm illa legeret flens, (erat enim amatoriè scripta: caput autem literarum, sibi cum illâ mimâ posthac nihil futurum: omnem se amorem abjecisse illinc, atque in hanc transfudisse) cùm mulier fleret uberiùs, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit; in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! (quid enim aliud dicam? magis propriè nihil possum dicere.) Ergo, ut te catamitum, nec opinatò cùm ostendisses, præter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco Urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu, perturbâsti! Et domi quidem causam amoris [habuisti;] foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet. Productus autem in concionem a tribuno plebis, cùm respondisses, te rei tuæ causâ venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti.

XXXII. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad majora veniamus. Cæsari ex Hispaniâ redeunti obviàm longissimè processisti. Celeriter îsti, redîsti, ut cognosceret te, si minùs fortem, attamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus, nescio quomodo, familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Cæsar: quem planè perditum ære alieno, egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognôrat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissimè recipiebat. His igitur rebus præclarè commendatus, jussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabellâ, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Quâ in re quanta fuerit utriusque vestrûm perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit, ut peteret: promissum et receptum intervertit, ad seque transtulit: tu ejus perfidiæ voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Calendæ Januariæ: cogimur in senatum: invectus est copiosiùs multò in istum et paratiùs Dolabella, quàm nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quæ dixit, Dii boni!

Primùm, cùm Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse jussurum; (quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper ejusmodi aliquid, et diceret) sed cùm Cæsar ita dixisset; tum hic bonus augur, eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset: idque se facturum esse asseveravit. In quo primùm incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istuc, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses, et consul esses, minùs facere potuisses? Vide, ne etiam faciliùs: nos enim nuntiationem solùm habemus; consules et reliqui magistratus

etiam spectionem. Esto, hoc imperitè: nec enim est ab homine nunquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis antè mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellæ comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis, aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de cœlo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges; et, si quis servavit, non habitis comitiis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verùm implicata inscitia impudentiâ est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem, decet. Atque ex illo die recordamini ejus, usque ad Idus Martias, consulatum. Quis unquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poterat: omnia rogabat: caput in aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia, quæ venderet, a collegâ petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellæ comitiorum dies, sortitio prærogativæ: quiescit. Renuntiatur: tacet. Prima classis vocatur: renuntiatur: deinde (ut assolet) suffragia: tum secunda classis: quæ omnia citiùs sunt facta, quàm dixi. Confecto negotio, bonus augur (Lælium diceres) ALIO DIE inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? nec enim te de cœlo servâsse dixisti, neque hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu jam Calendis Januariis futurum esse provideras, et tantò antè prædixeras. Ergo (hercule) magnâ, ut spero, tuâ potiùs quàm reipublicæ calamitate, ementitus es auspicia: obstrinxisti populum Romanum religione; augur auguri, consul consuli, obnuntiâsti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellæ videar convellere; quæ necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur.

Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cùm voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cùm augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiâsti; confitere te, cùm ALIO DIE dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quæ sit, augur a collegâ requiro.

Sed, ne fortè, ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii, rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, Patres Conscripti: apparet esse commotum: sudat, pallet: quidlibet, modò ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minuciâ fecit. Quæ potest esse turpitudinis tantæ defensio? Cupio audire; ut videam, ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus, appareat. Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amictus togâ purpureâ, in sellâ aureâ, coronatus. Adscendis; accedis ad sellam; (ita eras

Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes) diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abjectum sustuleras; sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi; ille cum plausu rejiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es, qui, cùm auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; et idem tentares, quid populus Romànus ferre et pati posset.

At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes adjiciebas: quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facilè servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certè non habebas. O præclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cùm es nudus concionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid fœdius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiam? hæc te, si ullam partem sensûs habes, lacerat, hæc cruentat, oratio. Vereor, ne imminuam virorum summorum gloriam: dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius, quàm vivere eum, qui imposuerit diadema, cùm omnes fateantur jure interfectum esse, qui abjecerit?

At etiam adscribi jussit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. CÆSARI, DICTATORI PERPETUO, M. ANTONIUM, CONSULEM, POPULI JUSSU, REGNUM DETULISSE; CÆSAREM UTI NOLUISSE. Jam jam minimè miror, te otium perturbare: non modò Urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solùm de die, sed etiam in diem, vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in judiciis esse potest, quæ tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Melius, M. Manlius, necati, ut, multis pòst sæculis, a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romæ constitueretur? Sed ad auspicia redeamus.

XXXV. De quibus rebus Idibus Martiis fuit in senatu Cæsar acturus, quæro, tum tu quid egisses. Audiebam quidem te paratum venisse, quòd me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna populi Romani. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis judicium interitus Cæsaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, prævertendum non est. Quæ tua fugà? quæ formido illo die? quæ, propter conscientiam scelerum, desperatio vitæ? cùm ex illâ fugâ, beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clàm te domum recepisti.

O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cùm me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rempublicam te adhortarer; quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desîsses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque, cùm cæteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententiâ mansi: neque te illo die, neque postero, vidi; neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste fœdere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in ædem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cùm omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi dies ille, M. Antoni, fuit? Quanquam mihi subitò inimicus exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quòd tibi invideris.

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, (Dii immortales!) et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quæ erat facta per obsidem, puerum nobilem, [M. Antonii filium,] M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quanquam te bonum timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii; improbum fecit ea, quæ, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cùm optimum te putabant (me quidem dissentiente), funeri tyranni, si funus illud fuit, sceleratissimè præfuisti: tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio. Tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semiustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum, et, ex maximâ parte, servorum, quos nos vi manuque repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti.

Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersâ, reliquis diebus in Capitolio præclara senatûs-consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula, neve cujusquam beneficii, figeretur. Meministi ipse, de exsulibus, scis, de immunitate, quid dixeris. Optimum verò, quòd dictaturæ nomen in perpetuum de republicâ sustulisti. Quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omnem, propter proximum dictatorem, tolleres metum.

Constituta respublica videbatur aliis, mihi verò nullo modo, qui omnia, te gubernante, naufragia metuebam. Num me igitur fefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit esse dissimilis? Inspectantibus vobis, toto Capitolio tabulæ figebantur: neque solùm singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis. Civitas non jam singillatim, sed provinciis totis, dabatur. Itaque, si hæc manent (quæ stante republicâ manere non possunt), provincias universas, Patres Conscripti, perdidistis: neque vectigalia solùm, sed etiam imperium populi Romani, hujus domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

XXXVII. Ubi est septies millies sestertium, quod in tabulis, quæ sunt ad Opis, patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, sed tamen (si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur) quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringenties HS, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Calendas Apriles debere desîsti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quæ a diversis emebantur, non insciente te; sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populo Romano amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum; quo proposito, nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior, quàm Deiotaro Cæsar? æquè atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rempublicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Is igitur, a quo vivo, nec præsens nec absens quidquam æqui bon. impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellârat hospitem præsens; computârat; pecuniam imperârat; in ejus tetrarchiam unum ex Græcis comitibus suis collocârat; Armeniam abstulerat, a senatu datam. Hæc vivus eripuit, reddidit mortuus.

At quibus verbis? modò "æquum" sibi videri, modò "non iniquum." Mira verborum complexio! At ille nunquam (semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro) quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri. Syngrapha HS centies per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostrâ, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententiâ, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res veniêre, et veneunt. Quâ ex syngraphâ quid sis acturus, meditere; censeo. Rex enim ipse, suâ sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat, homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ tyranni eripuissent, ea, tyrannis interfectis, ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur jureconsultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est jureconsultus, per quem hæc agis, ex istâ syngraphâ deberi dicit pro iis rebus quæ erant ante syngrapham recuperatæ. Non enim a te emit: sed priùs, quàm tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit: nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis, loquar? quorum etiam imitatores sunt, qui ea, tanquam gladiatorum libellos, palàm venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut jam appendantur, non numerentur, pecuniæ. At quàm cæca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, quâ civitates

locupletissimæ Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur; statuiturque, ne, post M. Brutum proconsulem, sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es compos? tu non constringendus? An, Cæsaris decreto, Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cùm Creta nihil ad Brutum, Cæsare vivo, pertineret? At, hujus venditione decreti, (ne nihil actum putetis) provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnio nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor.

Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Cæsar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem: tantùm queror, primùm, eorum reditus æquatos, quorum causam dissimilem Cæsar judicârit; deinde, nescio cur reliquis idem non tribuas: neque enim plus quàm tres aut quatuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tuâ misericordiâ simili non fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo ferre, cùm de reliquis ferres, noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti; eamque petitionem comparâsti, quæ et risus hominum et querelas moveret.

Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? An quia tribunus plebis sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cùm tuâ quid interest, nulla auspicia sint; cùm tuorum, tum sis religiosus? Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? Intervenit enim. Quid metuisti? credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerâsti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam ejus, sororem tuam, ejecisti, aliâ conditione quæsitâ et antè prospectâ. Non est satis: probri insimulâsti pudicissimam fœminam. Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti: frequentissimo senatu Calendis Januariis, sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabellâ causam odii, dicere ausus es, quòd ab eo sorori et uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patre audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurcè, tam impiè, dixeris?

XXXIX. Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quæ tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Cæsaris, pacis causâ, confirmata sunt a senatu, quæ quidem Cæsar egisset, non ea, quæ Cæsarem egisse dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut, ex Calendis Juniis, de Cæsaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem unquam advocâsti? quas Calendas Junias exspectâsti? an eas, ad quas te, peragratis veteranorum coloniis, stipatum armis retulisti?

O præclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum, cùm etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potiùs penè non abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere ut aliquando illud "Penè" tollatur!

At quàm nobilitata est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam, proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt: illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, (qui cùm de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum reipublicæ vulnus putabamus) hunc tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, Patres Conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid jam querar de agro Leontino? quandoquidem hæ quondam arationes Campani et Leontini in populi Romani patrimonio [grandi fœnore] et fructuosæ ferebantur. Medico tria millia jugerum, quasi te sanum fecisset; rhetori duo, quasi disertum facere potuisset. Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus.

XL. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quò Cæsar antè deduxerat. Consuluisti me per literas de Capuâ tu quidem, (sed idem de Casilino respondissem) possesne, ubi colonia esset, eò coloniam novam jure deducere. Negavi, in eam coloniam, quæ esset auspicatò deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam jure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem, insolentiâ elatus, omni auspiciorum jure turbato, Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quò erat paucis annis antè deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, et aratrum circumduceres: cujus quidem vomere portam Capuæ penè perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniæ territorium minueretur.

Ab hac religionum perturbatione, advolas in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Cassinatem. Quo jure? quo ore? Eodem, inquies, quo in hæredum L. Rubrii, quo in hæredum L. Turselii prædia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones. Et si ab hastâ, valeat hasta; valeant tabulæ, modò Cæsaris, non tuæ; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Cassinatem fundum quis veniisse dicit? quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem præconis audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandriam, qui emeret a Cæsare. Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit. Quis verò audivit unquam, (nullius autem salus curæ pluribus fuit) de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quòd si etiam scripsit ad te Cæsar, ut redderes; quid satis potest dici de tantâ impudentiâ? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus: jam intelliges, aliam

causam esse hastæ Cæsaris, aliam confidentiæ et temeritatis tuæ. Non enim te dominus modò illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator, arcebit.

XLI. At quàm multos dies in eâ villâ turpissimè est perbacchatus! Ab horâ tertiâ bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera! "Quàm dispari domino!" . . . . quanquam quomodo iste dominus? sed tamen quàm a dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit esse illud, non libidinum, diversorium. Quæ in illâ villâ ante dicebantur? quæ cogitabantur? quæ literis mandabantur? jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiæ ratio, omnisque doctrinæ. At verò, te inquilino, (non enim domino) personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum: natabant pavimenta vino: madebant parietes: ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres-familias, versabantur. Cassino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamnâ. Admissus est nemo. Jure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolebant dignitatis insignia.

Cùm, inde Romam proficiscens, ad Aquinum accederet, obviàm ei processit (ut est frequens municipium) magna sanè multitudo. At iste opertâ lecticâ latus est per oppidum, ut mortuus. Stultè Aquinates: sed tamen in viâ habitabant. Quid Anagnini? qui, cùm essent devii, descenderant, ut istum, tanquam si esset consul, salutarent. Incredibile dictu; tamen inter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum; præsertim cùm duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustellam et Laconem; quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quòd C. Cassium, quòd Brutos, patronos adoptâssent? magno quidem judicio, studio, benevolentiâ, caritate; non ut te, ut Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modò esse illorum cliens.

XLII. Interea, dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegæ tui, cùm illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! quâ re tibi nuntiatâ, (ut constabat inter eos, qui unâ fuerunt) concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio. Metum credo valuisse et arma. Collegam quidem de cœlo detraxisti; effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut sit similis tui, sed certè, ut dissimilis esset sui.

Qui verò reditus inde Romam? quæ perturbatio totius urbis? Mimineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem; modò regnantem Cæsarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi, nec ita multi. Ista verò quæ

et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur milites: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem jam inveteratis, Patres Conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Calendis Juniis cùm in senatum (ut erat constitutum) venire vellemus, metu perterriti repentè diffugimus.

At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quenquam, et potiùs discessu nostro lætatus est; statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Cæsaris defendisset lucri sui causâ, is leges Cæsaris, easque præclaras, ut rempublicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit: idemque, cùm actorum Cæsaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Cæsaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius; in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit: alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit; quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Cæsar unâ cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. Et tu in Cæsaris memoriâ diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is majorem honorem consecutus erat, quàm ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic Divo Julio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? cur non inaugurare? sume diem: vide, qui te inauguret. Collegæ sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quòd tyranni sacerdos es, sive quòd mortui! Quæro deinceps, num, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores? nescis herì quartum in Circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te ipsum autem ad populum tulisse, ut quintus præterea dies Cæsari tribueretur? Cur non sumus prætextati? cur honorem, Cæsari tuâ lege datum, deseri patimur? An supplicationes, addendo diem, contaminari passus es; pulvinaria noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle, aut usquequaque conserva.

Quæres, placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi verò nihil istorum placet. Sed tu, qui acta Cæsaris defendis, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi fortè vis fateri, te omnia quæstu tuo, non illius dignitate, metiri. Quid ad hæc tandem? exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam. Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum: at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo. Ille nunquam nudus est concionatus: tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus. Respondebisne ad hæc? aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid reperies, ex tam longâ oratione meâ, cui te respondere posse confidas? Sed præterita omittamus.

XLIV. Hunc unum diem, hunc unum, inquàm, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum coronâ senatus septus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvæ Concordiæ non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maximè barbaros, Ithyræos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Præsidii sui causâ se facere dicit. Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quàm in suâ civitate, sine armatorum præsidio, non posse vivere? Sed nullum est isthuc, mihi crede, præsidium. Caritate et benevolentiâ civium septum oportet esse, non armis.

Eripiet, extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! sed, quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes (mihi crede) esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minimè avara conjux (quam ego sine contumeliâ describo) nimiùm debet diu populo Romano pensionem tertiam. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula reipublicæ deferat: qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne reipublicæ præsidium, vel potiùs ipsa respublica, quæ se adhuc tantummodo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certè respublica adolescentes nobilissimos, paratos defensores. Quàm volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes; tamen a republicâ revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est, et ipsa res salutaris: sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas; servitus malorum omnium postremum, non modò bello, sed morte etiam, repellendum.

Quòd si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt; at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutùs; qui tum rex fuit, cùm esse Romæ regem licebat. Spurii Cassius et Melius, M. Manlius, propter suspicionem regni appetendi, sunt necati. Hi primi cum gladiis, non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem, impetum fecerunt. Quod cùm ipsum factum per se præclarum atque divinum est, tum expositum ad imitandum; præsertim cùm illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quæ vix cœlo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsâ conscientiâ pulcherrimi facti fructûs erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.

XLV. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti. Pone ante oculos lætitiam senatûs populique Romani: confer cum nundinatione tuâ tuorumque: tum intelliges, quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit. Sed, nimirum, ut quidam (morbo aliquo, et sensûs stupore) suavitatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, veræ laudis gustatum non habent. Sed, si te laus allicere ad rectè

faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a fœdissimis factis potest avocare? Judicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: si propter vim, non intelligis, ei, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, quid timendum sit?

Quòd si non metuis viros fortes, egregiosque cives, quòd a corpore tuo prohibentur armis; tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quæ est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis? nisi verò aut majoribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quàm ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus; aut tu es ullâ re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia: res bello gesserat, quamvis reipublicæ calamitosas, attamen magnas: multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, magnis periculis, quod cogitârat, effecerat: muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis, multitudinem imperitam lenierat: suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie, devinxerat. Quid multa? attulerat jam liberæ civitati, partim metu, partim patientiâ, consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum; cæteris verò rebus nullo modo es comparandus. Sed, ex plurimis malis, quæ ab illo reipublicæ sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quòd didicit jam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret Hæc igitur non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quàm sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, famâ gloriosum, tyrannum occidere? An, cùm illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac (mihi crede) ad hoc opus curretur; nec occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Respice, quæso, aliquando rempublicam, M. Antoni: quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera: mecum, ut voles; cum republicâ redi in gratiam. Sed de te tu ipse videris: ego de me ipso profitebor. Defendi rempublicam adolescens; non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinæ gladios; non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repræsentari morte meâ libertas civitatis potest; ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jamdiu parturit. Etenim si, abhinc annos propè viginti, hoc ipso in templo, negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari; quanto veriùs nunc negabo, seni? Mihi verò, Patres Conscripti, jam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum, quasque gessi. Duo modò hæc opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus a Diis immortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republicâ quisque mereatur.

NOTES.

THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

Lucius Sergius Catilina, of an illustrious family (from which consuls and military tribunes with consular power had frequently been taken to govern the state), was a man of singular strength, both of body and mind, but of a disposition extremely vicious. He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute the hardiest attempt From his youth up, he took pleasure in civil broils, civil wars, rapine, and massacres. He was wonderfully constituted for enduring cold, hunger, and want of rest; of a spirit daring and insidious; expert in all the arts of disguise and dissimulation; greedily covetous of other men's wealth, lavish of his own; violent in his passions, eloquent enough, but not endowed with much wisdom. His boundless ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects, making him aspire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities.

Sallust reports, that Catiline, when a very young man, had been engaged in many scandalous intrigues; that he had debauched a young lady of illustrious birth, and even a vestal nun; and that at last, not long before his conspiracy, he fell in love with Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no good man ever saw any thing to commend but her beauty, and, finding her indisposed to marry him, because he had a son grown to man's estate, whom she did not like for a son-in-law, he murdered him (at least it was confidently so believed) to facilitate the wicked nuptials. "And this," says the historian, "in my opinion, was what hurried him to the execution of his atrocious enterprise. For his polluted soul, full of rage against both gods and men, could find no rest either waking or sleeping, so incessantly did a guilty conscience torment him." Hence his face was pale, his countenance ghastly, his gait and motion unequal, now quick, then slow; in a word, his appearance was that of a man out of his senses.

He had probably been quæstor in the year 676, or 677, and, after the expiration of his quæstorship, lieutenant to Scribonius Curio, proconsul of Macedon, *Anno Urbis* 678; and he was prætor at Rome in 686.

At the consular election, which was held in the summer of 687, P. Autronius Pætus and P. Cornelius Sulla were declared consuls; but their election was no sooner published, than they were accused

of bribery and corruption by the Calpurnian Law, and being brought to trial, and found guilty before their entrance into office, their accusers and competitors, L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta, were proclaimed consuls elect. Some little time after this, Catiline, who, on the expiration of his prætorship, had obtained the province of Africa, came to Rome to sue for the consulship; but, being accused of extortion and rapine in that government, was not permitted to pursue his pretensions.

At this time, Cn. Piso, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was instigated, by his poverty and depraved morals, to raise disturbances in the state; with him Catiline and Autronius entered into a combination about the fifth of December to assassinate the consuls Torquatus and Cotta, in the Capitol, on the first of January; which done, Autronius and Catiline were to seize the consulship, and send Piso with an army to take possession of both Spains. But, their object somehow getting air, they deferred the intended assassination to the 5th of February; at which time they proposed to murder not only the consuls, but most of the senators. And if Catiline had not been so hasty as to give the signal, when not a sufficient number of his associates were yet assembled before the door of the senate-house (which frustrated the design), on that day had been perpetrated the most wicked deed that Rome had ever beheld since the foundation of the city.

Not long after this disappointment, Catiline was brought to trial for his oppressions in Africa. Of his guilt nobody doubted; but, through the iniquity of his judges, he was acquitted.

And the very next year (689), when Cicero was a candidate, in form, for the consulship, Catiline, being then free, stood against him for the same dignity. But the rumor of a dreadful plot, ready to break out, produced a disposition universally to confer the consulship on Cicero, whose abilities were well known. This plot was the famous conspiracy of Catiline.

Sallust, after relating the universal prevalence, at Rome, of those vices that are the ruin of states, rapacious covetousness, shameless venality, and boundless luxury, adds, that Catiline had collected, which in such a city it was not difficult to do, a band of needy profligates, who attended him as guards to his person; that he had been very assiduous in seeking intimacies with young persons chiefly, whose minds, being soft and pliable, were easily moulded to what fashion he pleased; and that he spared no cost to gratify the favorite passions, whatever they were, of his followers. The young men, thus seduced, and made indigent by squandering their fortunes, he trained up to every kind of wickedness; with fearless impudence to become false witnesses; forge deeds; and not to stick even at murder; which they sometimes committed without provocation, without temptation, and merely to keep their hands in exercise.

Depending on the aid of these his friends and associates, he formed a design to overturn the government, and raise himself to supreme power. And it is said, that his scheme was not without a foundation of probability; Italy being drained in a manner of regular forces; Pompey at a great distance, with the best army of the empire; all things quiet at home; the senate in a careless security; and he himself in great hopes of obtaining the consulship. But it was chiefly from the support of Sulla's veteran soldiers, whose cause he had always espoused, and among whom he had been bred, that he prom-

ised himself success in his enterprise. These, to the number of about 100,000, had been settled in the several colonies and districts of Italy, in the possession of lands assigned to them by Sulla, which the generality had since wasted by their vices and luxury; so that they wanted another civil war to repair their shattered fortunes.

About the beginning of June (689), in the consulship of L. Cæsar and C. Figulus, Catiline began to open his project to his confidants; to each of them at first alone; and having sounded them sufficiently, so as to perceive their several tempers and dispositions, he called together all those who were the most distressed in their affairs, and the most desperately bold; judging it now advisable to speak to them in a body. In this assembly, there were of senatorian rank, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. Sulla and S. Sulla (the sons of Servius Sulla), L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, and Q Curius; of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius.

Lentulus was descended from a patrician branch of the Cornelian family, one of the most numerous, as well as the most splendid in Rome. His grandfather had borne the title of "Prince of the Senate," and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of C. Gracchus, in which he received a dangerous wound. The grandson, by the favor of his noble birth, had been advanced to the consulship about eight years before, but was turned out of the senate soon after by the censors, for the notorious infamy of his life, till, by obtaining the prætorship a second time, which he now actually enjoyed, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council. His parts were but moderate, or rather slow; yet the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker. He was lazy, luxurious, and profligately wicked; yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect, from the overthrow of the government, to be the first man in the republic; in which fancy he was strongly flattered by some crafty soothsayers, who assured him, from the Sibylline books, that there were three Cornelius's destined to the dominion of Rome; that Cinna and Sulla had already possessed it, and the prophecy wanted to be completed in him. With these views he entered freely into the conspiracy, trusting to Catiline's vigor for the execution, and hoping to reap the chief fruit from its success.

Cethegus, of an extraction equally noble (being of the Cornelian family), was of a temper fierce, impetuous, and daring, to a degree even of fury. He had been warmly engaged in the cause of Marius, with whom he was driven out of Rome; but when Sulla's affairs became prosperous, he presently changed sides, and throwing himself at Sulla's feet, and promising great services, was restored to the city. After Sulla's death, by intrigues and faction, he acquired so great an influence, that, while Pompey was abroad, he governed all things at home; procured for Antonius the command over the coast of the Mediterranean, and for Lucullus the management of the Mithridatic war. In the height of this power, he made an excursion into Spain, to raise contributions in that province, where, meeting with some opposition to his violences, he had the hardiness to insult, and even wound the proconsul Q. Metellus Pius. But the insolence of his conduct, and the infamy of his life, gradually diminished, and at last destroyed, his credit; when, finding himself controlled by the

magistrates, and the particular vigilance of Cicero, he entered eagerly into Catiline's plot; and was intrusted with the most bloody and desperate part of it, the task of massacring their enemies within the city.

The rest of the conspirators were not less illustrious for their birth. The two Sullas were nephews to the dictator of that name; Autronius had obtained the consulship, but was deprived for bribery; and Cassius was a competitor for it with Cicero himself. In short, they were all of the same stamp and character; men whom disappointments, ruined fortunes, flagitious lives, had prepared for any design against the state; and all whose hopes of ease and advancement depended on a change of affairs, and the subversion of the republic.

With these were joined many from the colonies and principal towns of Italy, men of family and interest in their several countries. There were likewise several other noblemen engaged in this conspiracy, but with more caution and secrecy; men excited to it, not by want, or distress of any sort, but by the hopes of lawless power.

Catiline, having assembled at his own house those first-rate heroes above named, led them into a private part of it, and there, in a spirited harangue, represented to them "that the government was fallen entirely into the hands of a few; that these held kings and princes their tributaries; that whole nations paid taxes to these, while all the rest of the Roman citizens, how worthy or brave soever, remained without interest or authority, and were looked upon as a contemptible mob, the slaves of those to whom they ought to be a terror;—would it not be better to die in a brave attempt, than to live the sport of such men's insolence? We have poverty at home and debts abroad; our condition is bad, our expectations worse. Rouse then to action. I call the gods to witness, that success is in our hands. Nothing is wanting but to make the attempt. All that you have so long wished for is now within your reach—liberty, riches, honors; these will be the sure rewards of an easy victory."

His associates, though (being extremely wretched, destitute of all things, even of every honest hope) they were pleased with the design in general of throwing the state into confusion, as imagining that this must some how or other turn to their benefit; yet desired that he would be a little more particular concerning the terms on which they were to engage in the enterprise, the assistance on which they might depend for carrying it on, and the advantages they were to expect from it. Catiline promised them an abolition of their debts; the proscription of their particular enemies, and of the rich; plunder in abundance; in short, every advantage that conquest and uncontrolled power can give. He told them that Piso, with an army in Hither Spain, and P. Sitius Nucerinus, with another in Mauritania, were both engaged in the undertaking; that C. Antonius, whom he hoped to have for his colleague in the consulship, was his intimate friend, and desperately distressed in his affairs; and that, in conjunction with him, he would, as soon as they should enter upon their office, begin the execution of the great design. He reminded them of the rich fruits which some there present had reaped from Sulla's victory; and when he perceived that his discourse had raised the spirits of the whole company, and filled their minds with pleasing hopes, he pressed them to be active in

promoting his interest at the approaching election, and then dismissed the assembly.

In this conspiracy was Q. Curius, a man of no mean family, but who, for his scandalous conduct, had been expelled the senate by the censors. Desperately audacious he was, yet had not more boldness than levity; for whatever he heard he disclosed; he could not conceal even his own crimes; in a word, he considered neither what he said, nor what he did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal intercourse between him and Fulvia, a lady of quality. He had ruined his fortune by the excess of his liberality to her; and so soon as she perceived that he was poor, he found himself despised. Impatient under this disgrace, he began now to talk big, and to boast of mountains of gold, which he should soon be master of; and, sometimes, instead of the humble suitor, the submissive lover, he put on the fierce tyrant. This change of style made her curious to know the ground of it. She very soon got the secret out of him; and whether she made small account of the promises of a ruined lover, or had no opinion of an enterprise managed by debauchees, and giddy, thoughtless young men, or had too much of common humanity to approve of the detestable design, she disclosed what she had learnt to several persons of distinction; but without mentioning her author.

The rumor of the impending danger being thus spread, the centuries with one voice proclaimed M. Tullius Cicero the first consul (giving him C. Antonius for a colleague); a heavy blow, which very much shocked the generality of the conspirators. Catiline's fury, however, abated not in the least; he exerted himself every day more and more; provided magazines of arms in all the most commodious places of Italy; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and transmitted it to Fesulæ, in Etruria, to one Manlius, a bold and experienced centurion, who, having enrolled a considerable body of men, waited only his orders to take the field.

Catiline, notwithstanding these measures taken for war, declared himself a candidate for the next year's consulship; and renewed his efforts with greater vigor than ever to obtain it; hoping, if he should be chosen, to govern Antonius as he pleased. He pursued his pretension by such open methods of bribery, that Cicero published a new law against it, with the additional penalty of a ten years' exile, prohibiting likewise all shows of gladiators, within two years from the time of suing for any magistracy, unless they were ordered by the will of a person deceased, and on a certain day therein specified. Catiline, who knew the law to be levelled at him principally, formed a design to kill Cicero, with some other chiefs of the senate, on the day of election; but Cicero gave information of it to the senate the day before, upon which the election was deferred, that they might have time to deliberate on an affair of so great importance; and the day following, in a full house, he called upon Catiline to clear himself of this charge; where, without denying or excusing it, he bluntly told them that "there were two bodies in the republic" (meaning the senate and the people), "the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; which last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived." He had made a declaration of the same kind, and in the same place, a few days before, when, upon Cato's threatening him with an impeachment, he fiercely replied, "that if any flame should be excited in his

fortunes, he would extinguish it, not with water, but a general ruin."

At the consular election, which came on presently after this, Cicero, apprehending there would be an attempt to assassinate him in the Field of Mars, took care to throw back his gown, and let the people see a shining breast-plate, which he wore under it; a precaution which, deeply imprinting on the multitude a sense of the common danger, prevented, as he told Catiline afterwards to his face, his design of killing, not only him, but D. Junius Silanus, and L. Licinius Muræna, who were declared consuls elect.

Catiline, thus a second time repulsed, and breathing nothing but revenge, was now eager and impatient to execute his grand plot. With this view he despatched C. Manlius, then at Rome, to Fesulæ, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; Septimius to the territory of Picenum; C. Julius into Apulia; and others to different places, where he thought they might be most serviceable to his design. At the same time, he was busily employed in contriving the most effectual means to murder the consul, and set fire to the city. He posted armed men in convenient places; was himself always armed; ordered his followers to be so too; was ever pressing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action; day and night he passed without sleep, and in a hurry; and yet was unwearied with his never-ceasing toils.

Of all these measures for war, massacres, and conflagrations, Cicero received intelligence from Crassus, who, with M. Marcellus and Metellus Scipio, came to his house at midnight, and, having caused him to be waked, put into his hand a paquet of letters, which had been left with Crassus's porter by a person unknown. Among these letters was one directed to Crassus himself, but without the name of the writer; the rest were directed to other senators. Crassus opened his own, and finding in it an exhortation to him to quit Rome, because Catiline was soon to make great havoc there, he immediately carried all the letters to the consul; who thereupon convened the senate, and delivered them, each according to its direction. Being read aloud to the assembly, they were found to contain advices of the same import as those to Crassus; and it was at this time (the 21st of October), and upon this occasion, that the senate, by a decree, ordered the consuls "to take care that the republic received no detriment." Catiline, nevertheless, on the sixth of November, summoned the principal conspirators to meet him in the dead of the night, at the house of M. Porcius Læca.

At this meeting it was resolved, that Catiline should put himself at the head of the troops in Etruria, that Rome should be fired in many places at once, and a massacre begun at the same time; that in the consternation of the fire and massacre, Catiline should be ready, with his Tuscan army, to take the benefit of the public confusion, and make himself master of the city; where Lentulus, in the mean while, as first in dignity, was to preside in their general councils; Cassius to manage the affair of firing it; Cethegus to direct the massacre. But the vigilance of Cicero being the chief obstacle to all their hopes, Catiline was very desirous to see him taken off before he left Rome; upon which L. Vargunteius and C. Cornelius, both Roman knights (the first a senator), undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. They were both of his acquaintance, and used to frequent his house; and knowing his

custom of giving free access to all, made no doubt of being readily admitted, as C. Cornelius, one of the two, afterwards confessed.

No sooner was the meeting over, than Cicero had information of all that passed in it; for Curius sent Fulvia to him, with a punctual account of their deliberations. He presently imparted his intelligence to some of the chiefs of the city, who were assembled that evening, as usual, at his house, informing them not only of the design, but naming the men who were to execute it, and the very hour when they would be at his gate; all which fell out exactly as he foretold; for the two knights came before break of day, but had the mortification to find the house well guarded, and all admittance refused to them.

The meeting of the conspirators was on the sixth of November, in the evening; and on the eighth he summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, where it was not usually held, but in times of public alarm. There had been several debates before this on the same subject of Catiline's treasons, and his design of killing the consul, and a decree had passed, at the motion of Cicero, to offer a public reward to the first discoverer of the plot, if a slave, his liberty and eight hundred pounds; if a citizen, his pardon and sixteen hundred. Yet Catiline, by a profound dissimulation, and the constant professions of his innocence, still deceived many of all ranks, representing the whole as a fiction of his enemy Cicero, and offering to give security for his behavior, and to deliver himself to the custody of any whom the senate would name; of M. Lepidus, of the prætor Metellus, or of Cicero himself; but none would receive him; and Cicero plainly told him, "that he should never think himself safe in the same house, when he was in danger by living in the same city with him." Yet he still kept on the mask, and though he stood actually impeached by L. Paulus, upon the Plautian law, he had the confidence to come to this very meeting in the Capitol; which so shocked the whole assembly, that none even of his acquaintance durst venture to salute him; and the consular senators quitted that part of the house where he sat, and left the whole bench clear to him. Cicero was so provoked by his impudence, that instead of entering upon any business, as he designed, addressing himself directly to Catiline, he broke out into a most severe invective against him; and with all the fire and force of an incensed eloquence, laid open the whole course of his villanies, and of his treasons.

SYNOPSIS.

Propositio.	I. Catilinam, in rempublicam conjurantem, occidendum. II. Utilius esse reipublicæ, ut cum suis ex urbe discedat.
Hortatio.	Ut exeat, vel in exsilium: vel ad castra Manlii.
Epilogus.	Senatores orat, ut discessum conjuratis permittant. Jovem Statorem, ut discedentes puniat.

Propositionis Analysis.

- In Catilinam conjurantem invehitur,
  - Ob ejus obstinationem
    - in sceleribus, quibus abutitur patientiâ
      - senatûs. 1.*
      - consulum. 1
    - in furore, quo illos eludit. 1.
    - in audaciâ effrænatâ, quâ se jactat. 1.
  - Ob impudentiam, quâ
    - non movetur Palatii præsidio.
      - Urbis vigiliis. 1.
      - populi timore. 1.
      - proborum consensu. 1.
      - senatûs convocatione, in loco munito. 1.
      - senatorum irâ. 1.
  - Ob stuporem, quo
    - nescit sua consilia patere. 1.
    - conjurationem ab omnibus sciri. 1.
    - nocturnos cœtus et socios cognosci. 1.
- Conjurationis tempus deplorat, quòd
  - senatus hanc intelligat. 1.
  - consul videat. 1.
  - conjurator tamen vivat, et in senatum veniat. 1.
- Conjuratorem occidendum probat exemplis
  - Scipionis, qui occidit Tiberium Gracchum. 1.
  - Ahalæ, qui Spurium Melium. 1.
  - Opimii, qui C. Gracchum, et Fulvium. 2.
  - Marii, qui Saturninum et Servilium. 2.
- Quòd non occidat, tamen, Cicero seipsum
  - accusat
    - inertiæ. 2.
    - nequitiæ. 2.
  - excusat,
    - a causâ patientiæ. 2.
    - a voluntate necandi Catilinam. 2.
- Et Catilinam
  - hortatur, ut mentem mutet. 3.
  - confundit, apertis ejus sceleratis consiliis. 3 4
  - jubet ex urbe discedere. 5.

Hortationis Prima Pars.

Ut exsulet, postulat

- I. Catilinæ vita
  - privata: quæ infamis
    - in rebus domesticis et privatis. 6
    - in oculis, manibus, toto corpore. 6
  - publica: quæ reip. noxia,
    - consulum quæsitâ nece. 6.
    - senatoribus incusso metu. 7.
- II. Patriæ imperium
  - vitam sceleratam exprobantis. 7.
  - metum sibi eripi postulantis. 7.
- III. Senatûs voluntas, qui
  - consulem exsilium imperantem patienter audit. 8.
  - silentio imperium ejus approbat. 8.
- IV. Equitum et aliorum civium ardor, qui
  - clamoribus Catilinæ obstrepunt. 8.
  - ab ejus nece vix manus cohibent. 8.

* The figures at the ends of the lines in the *Analysis* refer to the corresponding sections in the Oration.

Hortationis Secunda Pars.

Ut ad Manlium se conferat,

- I. Ob ipsum Catilinam, cui
  - utile:
    - aucto exercitu. 9.
    - ut augere decrevit. 9.
  - delectabile:
    - ob contubernium improborum militum. 10.
    - ob spolia occisorum hostium. 10.
  - honorabile:
    - ob patientiæ exercitium, in fame, frigore, inopiâ. 10.
- II. Ob patriam, cui
  - exitiale in speciem: nam
    - bello vastabitur Italia. 11.
    - vexabuntur urbes. 11.
    - domus ardebunt. 11.
  - reverà utilissimum: nam
    - conjuratio fiet apertior. 12
    - sanitas reipublicæ diuturnior. 13.

Epilogus.

- I. Senatoribus,
  - ut permittant conjuratis exitum:
    - ne insidientur consuli. 13.
    - ne circumstent tribunal prætoris. 13.
    - ne obsideant cum gladiis curiam. 13.
    - ne malleolis urbem incendant. 13.
  - ut bene sperent:
    - ob consulis diligentiam. 13.
    - senatûs auctoritatem. 13.
    - equitum fortitudinem. 13
    - civium bonorum consensionem. 13.
- II. Jovi Statori,
  - ut Catilinam et socios procul expellat. 13.
  - et dignis suppliciis afficiat 13.

Line. Page.

4. *Palatii:* Palatium, or Mons Palatinus, was one of the seven hills upon which Rome was built, and such was its commanding situation, that in times of public alarm, a garrison was stationed upon it to protect the city.—*Urbis vigiliæ:* As soon as there was a suspicion that a dangerous conspiracy existed, the senate ordered the inferior magistrates of Rome to guard with an armed force the various streets of the city, to prevent the execution of any evil design. 7

5. *Munitissimus:* The senate at this time, on account of the public danger, was convened in the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Capitol, which was the highest part of the city, and was strongly fortified.

18. *Jussu consulis:* In times of peace and safety, the power of the consuls was much limited; in all important affairs they were obliged to act under the direction of the senate. But when there were civil commotions in the city, and when it was supposed that some great evil endangered the state, the senate invested them with absolute power, that they might preserve the republic from harm. Upon the first report of the existence of the Catilinarian conspiracy, such authority was conferred on Cicero and Antonius; and it was by virtue of this power, that Cicero says, Catiline should already have been put to death.

20. *P. Scipio:* Tiberius Gracchus was supposed to be ambitious of making himself king in Rome. P. Scipio Nasica at the head of the senators, whom Tiberius had offended by passing several popular

7 laws, went in an illegal manner, and without any public authority, into an assembly of the people, who were then electing Gracchus tribune a second time, attacked him and his friends, and put him to death.—*Pontifex maximus:* It is the opinion of many that Cicero here applies to Scipio the title Pontifex Maximus, by anticipation, as he immediately afterwards calls him simply a *private* person; but as the Pontifex Maximus was not, properly speaking, a *magistrate*, the term *privatus* is rightly applied to him in contrast with *consules* in the same sentence.

25. *Servilius Ahala:* In the 313th year of Rome, there was a famine in the city, by means of which, Livy says, a private man was near obtaining possession of sovereign power. Minucius was appointed by the senate and people to procure corn in the adjacent countries, but met with little success. Spurius Melius, the richest private man in the commonwealth, had bought up so much of it in the neighboring provinces, that the agent of the public could not purchase provisions of that kind. The corn, which Melius had purchased, was liberally distributed among the people; and so great was the popularity he acquired by this artifice and munificence, that a conspiracy was formed to change the form of government; Melius aspired to royalty; the people were to take arms in his favor, and the tribunes consented to sell the public liberty. Upon the discovery of the conspiracy, T. Q. Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, who, supposing that nothing but a stroke of authority could destroy so dangerous a plot, immediately sent Servilius Ahala, his master of the horse, to cite Melius to appear before his tribunal. Melius, surprised, endeavored to make his escape; Servilius commanded a lictor to arrest him. Melius, imploring the assistance of the people, was rescued by the multitude, and again endeavored to escape; but Servilius, pursuing him, overtook him, ran him through the body with his sword, and thus preserved the liberties of his country.—*Novis rebus studentem:* "Plotting a revolution."

28. *Senatûs-consultum:* The "decree of the Senate," to which this passage alludes, was that, which, as soon as there was a rumor of Catiline's conspiracy, charged the consuls to see *that the republic received no detriment*, and which for that purpose invested them with absolute power.

8 6. *C. Gracchus:* Caius Gracchus was a brother of Tiberius Gracchus, and, like him, was a favorite of the people, and opposed to the Senate. In the 630th year of Rome, he was chosen tribune, and, besides many other acts of popularity, enforced the execution of his brother's Agrarian law, and added to it another clause. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was one of the commissioners appointed to divide the lands. But, two years afterwards, the consul Opimius called an assembly of the people to abrogate that law, and, during the confusion, which was common in those meetings, Q. Antillius, one of his lictors, was killed. Opimius excited the senators to execute immediate vengeance on Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, who were supposed to be the authors of the lictor's death, but a violent shower of rain obliged the parties to separate. On the next day, Gracchus and Fulvius with their friends were assembled on Mount Aventine; the Senate conferred unlimited power on Opimius; the consul immediately attacked the partisans of Gracchus, and slew Fulvius, his sons, and three thousand of his followers. Gracchus sought shelter in a wood consecrated to the Furies, but, perceiving his enemies approach to kill him, ordered a slave to put an end to his life.

9. *L. Saturninum....C. Servilium:* On the day of the election of 8
Consuls in the 653d year of Rome, M. Antonius was elected without opposition; C. Servilius Glaucia, the Prætor, whom Cicero (*in Brut. c. lxii.*) calls *the most wicked man that ever lived*, and C. Memmius, a man of distinction, were the other candidates. Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and a factious demagogue, was eager for the election of Servilius; but, fearing that Memmius would succeed, murdered him in the presence of the people. The senate immediately charged the consuls to see that the republic received no detriment. Saturninus and Servilius fled to the Capitol; being besieged there by Marius, they surrendered themselves upon condition of safety; but the same day, before they were brought to trial, they were slain by the enraged citizens.

11. *Vicesimum jam diem:* The decree of the senate, charging Cicero and Antonius to see that the republic received no harm, was passed eighteen days before the delivery of this oration. Cicero calls it, in round numbers, *twenty*.

28. *Certâ de causâ:* The reasons which induced Cicero not to put Catiline to death, were, because there were many in the city, and even some in the senate, who did not think Catiline guilty, and who would have called Cicero a tyrant, if he had ordered him to be killed; because, although Catiline were dead, yet the conspiracy would not be suppressed; but, should he be obliged to leave the city, it was probable he would carry with him all the profligate and desperate; and because it would be more safe to contend with an open enemy, than a secret, artful, and bloody-minded conspiracy.

39. *Continere vocem:* By the intrigues of Fulvia and Curius, her paramour, Cicero was informed of all the plans and proceedings of the conspirators. See *Introduction*, p. 165.

44. *XII. Calendas Novembris:* The Twelfth of the Kalends of November was the twenty-first day of October. See Adam's "*Rudiments of Latin Grammar*," upon the division of the Roman month.

8. *Consiliorum reprimendorum:* Many of the principal men of 9
Rome had left the city, because they feared, that they should be put to death, together with the consul, by Catiline; for he had written a letter to Crassus, advising him to depart, which letter was shown to Cicero. See *Introduction*, p. 166.

14. *Præneste:* Catiline had designed to take the town of Præneste, which was within twenty-five miles of Rome, and was one of the strongest fortresses in Italy. It would have been of great use to him in the war, and would have afforded him a safe retreat if he should be defeated. Cicero, however, apprehending that he would make this attempt, put the town in a state of defence, and when Catiline came, on the night of the first of November, to make an attack, he found it so well guarded, that he was obliged to abandon his design.

19. *Noctem superiorem....priori nocte:* These words refer to the same night, namely, that on which Catiline and the conspirators met at the house of Læca.

22. *Falcarios:* There is a doubt existing concerning the meaning of this word; but it is generally believed, that it is either a name of a street in Rome, or an appellation given to soldiers armed with scythes.

23. *Complures:* Sallust names eleven senators, and there probably were many more men of influence at this meeting.

9 35. *Distribuisti:* C. Manlius was sent to the city of Fesulæ, Septimius into the Picene territory, and C. Julius into Apulia.

10 10. *Huic ipsi Jovi Statori:* The temple in the Capitol was consecrated to Jupiter Stator, Juno, and Minerva; the cell of Jupiter was in the middle, of Minerva on the right, and of Juno on the left. It was founded, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Tarquinius Priscus on this occasion. In a severe battle, which that king fought against the Sabines, his enemies at first were victorious; but, Tarquin having vowed a temple to the deities abovementioned, if they would turn the tide of success, the hopes of their assistance excited fresh courage in the soldiers, and he by this means gained the victory. Regardful of his vow, when he arrived at Rome, he laid the foundation of the temple, upon which his grandson, Tarquin the Proud, afterwards erected the edifice. It was burnt in the 670th year of Rome, rebuilt by Sulla, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. In the part devoted to Jupiter, Cicero was now speaking to the senate, and his happy allusion to the cause of the building of the temple made a strong impression upon the minds of the senators. It was dedicated to Jupiter Stator, which appellation was given him, because he *stayed* the victorious pursuit of the Sabines, and saved the Romans from defeat, and perhaps from destruction. Rome, by the providential discovery of Catiline's conspiracy, was lately delivered from ruin equally imminent; and Cicero, no less grateful for his remarkable deliverance than Tarquin, gave great thanks to the immortal gods, and with great propriety to Jupiter Stator in particular, the most ancient protector of the city, who had delivered it from early destruction, and had so lately preserved it from conflagration, and prevented the assassination of its senate and citizens.

13. *In uno homine:* This sentence alludes to Catiline's former attempts to raise himself to sovereign power.

14. *Consuli designato:* During the interval between the election of consuls and their entrance into office, which was generally six months, the persons chosen were called *consuls elect.* Cicero and Catiline the last year had been rival candidates, and as Cicero succeeded not only in being elected to the consulship himself, but also in excluding Catiline, this assassin had determined to attempt to murder him in the Campus Martius. The vigilance of Cicero, however, defeated his design. The next year, while Cicero was consul, at the time the Comitia were held, he again employed his influence in preventing the election of Catiline, who stood candidate for the consulship this year also, and Catiline again endeavored to kill him in the field of election. But the prudence of Cicero and the exertions of his friends again prevented the execution of his murderous intentions. See *Introduction*, p. 165.

26. *Id:* That is, to put Catiline to death.

28. *Id:* That is, to force Catiline to leave the city.

35. *Non jubeo:* He only advises, he does not order, because to command him to leave the city would have been to assume too much of the style and power of royalty.

39. *Domesticæ turpitudinis:* He had murdered his brother and son.

41. *Libido:* Besides other crimes of this class, Catiline had violated the chastity of a Vestal, which was an offence that subjected the parties guilty of it to death; the Vestal by law was sentenced to be buried alive, with funeral solemnities, in a place called the *Campus Sceleratus*, and her paramour was to be scourged to death in the Forum.

1. *Morte superioris uxoris:* To induce Aurelia Orestilla to marry him, he not only had killed his son, but was also suspected of having put his wife to death. 11

2. *Alio incredibili scelere:* It had been asserted that he married one of his own illegitimate daughters.

6. *Proximis Idibus:* This oration was delivered on the eighth of November; the next Ides, therefore, would be on the thirteenth of the same month (*See the division of the Roman month in Adam's Grammar*), before which time Catiline was obliged to discharge the many and great debts he owed, or to have all his estate taken from him; and as Cicero did not think that he could satisfy the demands of his creditors, he told him that his fortunes would soon be ruined.

14. *Cum telo?* It was unlawful to carry a hostile weapon into the Comitia, the Forum, or the Senate-house.—*Manum....interficiendorum:* This refers to Catiline's former attempt, when, in conjunction with Sulla, Antonius, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, he designed to murder the Consuls and Senators, and when, by reason of the signals not being given, on account of the absence of some of the conspirators, the design was frustrated. The Senate were well acquainted with Catiline's intentions, but as there was no positive proof of his guilt, they could not punish him.

26. *Initiata sacris:* The meaning of this passage is, "Which indeed has been consecrated and devoted by you with I know not what rites, that you should religiously think it necessary to thrust it into the body of a consul." It was unlawful to use, for common purposes, the knives and other instruments devoted to sacred employments; Cicero therefore implies, that as Catiline was so accustomed to carry a dagger with an intent to kill him, he seems to have vowed to the gods, that with it he would murder a consul.

32. *Quis te:* When Catiline came to this meeting of the senate, the senators abandoned their seats, near which he placed himself, and not one of his friends dared to salute him.

35. *Judicio taciturnitatis:* The senate's abhorrence of him and his crimes could not be more strongly expressed, than by their avoiding him and refusing to speak to him.

37. *Consulares:* This title was conferred on those who had been consuls.

37. *Tibi:* This word in this place has the signification of *a te.*

13. *Civium neces:* Catiline was active in putting to death the persons whom Sulla proscribed, and was protected from punishment by the authority of the dictator.—*Vexatio....impunita:* When Catiline was prætor, he obtained the province of Africa, and, while he governed it, was guilty of the most oppressive extortion. When he was afterwards accused in Rome of mal-administration, he escaped with impunity, by bribing his accuser, Publius Clodius, and thus managing to be tried by corrupt judges. 12

44. *Abhorret a meis moribus:* Cicero by nature was mild and averse to severity; and as he knew the senate would condemn Catiline, if he referred the case to them, he chose rather to drive him from the city, which measure he was certain would be equally fatal to the conspiracy, and would not produce so bad consequences.

13. *Videlicet cara:* Catiline pretended to pay great deference to the authority of the senators, that he might more effectually prevent a suspicion of the design to murder them.—*Vilissima:* The lives of the 13

13 Senators were certainly "cheap" in Catiline's estimation, since he resolved to destroy so many of them.

15. *Qui circumstant senatum:* The Roman knights had been ordered to guard the temple, in which the senate were convened, because it was feared, that the conspirators would make another attempt to murder the senators, while they were transacting business.

16. *Voces:* These voices expressed approbation of Cicero's proceedings, and uttered clamorous invectives against Catiline.

18. *Tela contineo:* If Cicero had permitted them, the knights would have immediately put Catiline to death.

24. *Duint: Duim* was anciently used for *dem* or *dederim*. See *Grammar*, Gould's ed. p. 153. It was used mostly by comic writers, being found frequently in Plautus, and also in Terence.

25. *Tempestas invidiæ:* Cicero is sincere; for had Catiline, instead of going to the camp of Manlius in Tuscany, retired to some remote region, many would have believed that he had been persecuted by Cicero from personal emnity.

27. *Sed est mihi tanti:* The meaning of these words is, "But it is worth the while for me to endure this;" or, "I esteem it light."

37. *Servire meæ laudi:* Catiline's retreat to Manlius would convince the people of the justice and merit of Cicero's conduct.

43. *Forum Aurelium:* This was a town not far from the city, through which Catiline designed to pass to Manlius.

14 1. *Aquilam:* Eagles were used as standards in the Roman army, and so great was the reverence in which they were held, that the soldiers frequently swore by them. The silver eagle, which is mentioned in the text, had belonged to Marius in the Cimbrian war; and it is probable that Catiline had made his partisans swear by this to follow him and execute his designs.

4. *Ut:* This word in this place has the signification of *quomodo*.

27. *Latrocinium:* The distinction between *bellum* and *latrocinium*, is, that *bellum* is used when a public officer declares war, and *latrocinium* when a private person rebels against the constituted authorities of government.

29. *Querimoniam:* Of a want of energy, or an impolitic clemency.

41. *Privati:* Alluding to the cases of Tiberius Gracchus and others.

42. *Leges:* A law was passed by Caius Gracchus, that no citizen should be put to death, unless by order of the people.

15 2. *Per te cognitum:* Cicero was what was called a *new* man, known only by himself, the first of his family, who had been elevated to official dignity.—*Tam maturè:* Cicero was elected Consul the first year he was permitted by law to offer himself as a candidate, which was a circumstance that never before happened to a *new* man.

3. *Per omnes honorum gradus:* It was necessary to pass through the Quæstorship, the Ædileship or Tribuneship, and the Prætorship, before a Roman could stand as a candidate for the Consulship.

13. *Gladiatori:* This word signifies one accustomed to the commission of murder.

24. *Spem Catilinæ:* The hope of being able to seize the consulship, and destroy the republic.

16 8. *Circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani:* The *prætor urbanus* was the magistrate who administered justice at Rome.

THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

When Cicero had finished the preceding vehement discourse in the senate, Catiline, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, with downcast looks and suppliant voice, "begged of the fathers not to believe too hastily what had been said against him; that such was his family, and such had been the tenor of his whole life from his youth up, as might encourage him to hope for every honor he could aspire to; and it was not to be imagined, that he, a patrician, whose ancestors, as well as himself, had given many proofs of their affection to the Roman people, should wish to overturn the government; while Cicero, a stranger, a tenant only of a house he had lately hired in Rome, was zealous for its preservation." But, as he was going on to give harsh and abusive language, the senate interrupted him by a general outcry, calling him parricide and enemy to his country. Urged to fury and desperation by this treatment, he repeated with a loud and menacing voice what he had said before to Cato, "Since I am circumvented, and driven headlong by my enemies, the flame that is raised about me will I extinguish by the common ruin;" and so rushed out of the assembly.

And now, perceiving it in vain to dissemble any longer, he resolved to enter into action immediately, before the troops of the republic were increased; and accordingly he left Rome that very night with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards Etruria. But, before he went off, he had a short conference with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, the boldest of the conspirators, in which he pressed them earnestly to neglect no means of augmenting their number, get rid of Cicero as soon as possible, and prepare for a massacre, and the firing of the city; and he assured them that he would speedily return at the head of a strong army.

He no sooner disappeared, than his friends gave out that he was gone into a voluntary exile at Marseilles. Cicero entertained no doubt of his going directly to Manlius's camp, knowing that he had already sent thither a quantity of arms, and all the ensigns of military command, and particularly a silver eagle, for which he had a superstitious regard, because C. Marius had made use of it in his expedition against the Cimbri. However, lest the report should gain belief in the city, and it should be said that the consul had driven an innocent man into banishment, without any previous trial, he called the people into the Forum, to give them an account of what had passed in the senate the day before, and of the immediate consequence of it, Catiline's hasty departure from Rome.

SYNOPSIS.

Pars I.
- Gratulatur sibi, quòd Catilinam ejecerit.
- Rationem reddit, cur non occiderit.

Pars II.
- Conjuratorum milites, extra Urbem non timendos probat.
- Conjuratorum multitudinem, in Urbe formidandam.
- Conjurationis principem Catilinam in exsilium non iturum.

Pars III.
- Conjuratos distribuit in sex classes.
- Reipublicæ præsidia extollit, illis opposita.

Peroratio.
- I. Cives bonos metu liberat.
- II. Cives conjuratos terret.
- III. Deos adjutores sibi appromittit.

Prima Pars.

Gratulatur sibi, quòd Catilinam ejecerit:
- ob securitatem futuram. 1.
- ob bellum præsens,
  - quod justum. 1.
  - et publicum. 1
- ob pericula præterita vitata,
  - propria. 1.
  - civium. 1.
  - Urbis. 1.

Rationem reddit, cur non occiderit:
- ob cives conjurationis expertes: qui
  - vel delata non credebant. 2.
  - vel credita non expendebant. 2.
  - vel expensa defendebant. 2.
  - vel conjuratis amicis favebant. 2.
- ob cives conjurationis participes, qui puniri non potuissent. 2.

Secunda Pars.

Conjuratorum milites, extra Urbem non timendos: quòd.
- senes. 3.
- rustici. 3.
- decoctores. 3.
- judicia fugientes. 3.

Conjuratorum multitudinem, in Urbe formidandam:
- ob arrogantiam interritam. 3.
- ob ambitionem regendarum provinciarum. 3.
- ob vitiorum omnium corruptionem. 4.
- ob audaciam et crudelitâtem. 5.
- ob avaritiam, et inopiam. 5.
- ob ebriositatem, et odium proborum. 5.
- ob infamem luxuriam, et libidinem. 5.

Conjurationis principem, ex Urbe in exsilium non iturum:
- cùm nec ire jussus sit. 6, 7.
  - nec ire vetitus. 7.

Tertia Pars.

- **Conjurati in sex classes distributi.**
  - I. Avari divites. 8.
  - II. Ambitiosi pauperes. 9.
  - III. Prodigi insolentes. 9.
  - IV. Decoctores inertes. 10.
  - V. Sicarii crudeles. 10.
  - VI. Delicatuli molles. 10.
- **Reipublicæ præsidia, illis opposita:**
  - consules et imperatores. 11.
  - flos et robur Italiæ. 11.
  - coloniæ et municipia. 11.
  - senatus, equites, plebs Romana. 11.
  - ærarium, et vectigalia. 11.
  - causæ æquitas, et Deorum auxilium. 11.

Peroratio.

- **I. Cives bonos hortatur,**
  - domos suas defendant
    - custodiis. 12.
    - vigiliis. 12.
  - de cæteris ne sint solliciti: quòd
    - Urbs satis habeat præsidii. 12.
    - coloniæ et municipia sibi provideant. 12.
    - gladiatores in officio contineantur. 12.
    - Gallia et Picenum a Metello protegantur. 12.
    - senatus reliquis prospecturus sit. 12.
- **II. Cives conjuratos monet,**
  - patriæ se consulturum. 12.
  - discessum ex Urbe, esse liberum. 12.
  - tumultuantes in Urbe, se puniturum. 12.
- **III. Seipsum consulem prædicat**
  - effecturum, ut periculum vitetur sine tumultu. 13.
    - bellum sedetur, se imperatore. 13.
    - cives boni non pereant. 13.
    - cives mali paucissimi plectantur. 13.
- **IV. Deos reipublicæ protectores agnoscit:**
  - quibus niti se profitetur. 13.
  - qui cœlestis auxilii signa ostenderunt. 13.
  - qui præsentes, tecta et domos defendent. 13.
  - quos ut venerentur et implorent, hortatur. 13.

Line. Page.

28. *Quirites:* The senators of Rome were at first addressed by the title of *Patres*, which appellation was given them by Romulus on account of their age and dignity; those persons, who were chosen into the senate by Lucius Junius Brutus, after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, were called *Conscripti*, that is, *enrolled together with* the senators; but afterwards the name *Patres Conscripti* was usually applied to all the senators. The word *Quirites* was the appellation by which the people were addressed; it was derived from *Cures*, a town of the Sabines, to whom it was first applied; when Romulus united the Sabines to the Romans, it became the general name of the inhabitants of Rome. 16

32. *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit:* These words are not tautological: *abiit* implies only the action of going; *excessit* signifies he, induced by some powerful motive, has departed from us; *evasit* indicates that he has escaped from danger; *erupit* declares that, anxious for his safety

16 and the execution of his designs, he fled with precipitancy from a place, where the latter was almost impossible, the former very precarious. "He is gone, he has retired, he has escaped, he has broke away."

17 4. *Sica illa:* The dagger mentioned in the former oration.—*Non in Campo.....foro.....curiâ.....intra domesticos parietes:* Before Catiline departed, Cicero, as his life had been so often attacked, thought it imprudent to go into the Campus Martius unarmed; when Catiline was concerned in the proceedings of courts of justice, he prevented the dictates of law and equity from being observed, by his menaces and arms; as he had often intended to murder the senators, it was unsafe for that body of men to take their seats in the senate-house; and before his departure, it was hazardous even to sleep in private houses, that were not fortified.

11. *Vivis nobis:* Catiline had said in the house of Læca, that he would not go to the army, till he had killed Cicero.

19. *Quales esse omnes oportebat:* All good men thought that Catiline ought to be put to death.

20. *Exsultat et triumphat:* Although it was a general opinion, that Catiline ought to be capitally punished, yet Cicero had great reason to boast of his prudence in driving him from the city, as it was the most effectual means of suppressing his conspiracy.

25. *Hujus imperii severitas:* Such was the constitution of the Roman republic, that, when tumults and insurrections were raised by the intrigues of popular leaders, who disregarded the established laws and liberties of the commonwealth, policy required the creation of a despotic Dictator, or the investment of the consuls with absolute power, in order that the republic might be preserved from harm.

27. *Non crederent:* Many would not believe what Cicero had published in the senate, because they thought him an enemy to Catiline from some private cause, and because they did not think the dangers imminent which he described. Many also pretended not to believe, who secretly favored the designs of Catiline.

32. *Ne vobis quidem:* The meaning of this passage is; "If I had put Catiline to death before you were convinced of his criminality, I should have been thought so great a tyrant, that I should have met with much opposition in my endeavors to suppress the other conspirators."

39. *Parum comitatus:* It is said, Catiline carried but three hundred partisans with him to the camp of Manlius.

41. *Mihi:* This word in this sentence conveys no meaning; it is used for the sake of euphony. Tongilius, Publicius, and Munatius, men of abandoned characters, went with Catiline to Manlius's camp; conspirators of noble birth remained in the city.

41. *Prætextâ:* The *toga prætexta* was the gown, which, according to the Roman custom, all young men wore till the age of seventeen, at which time they were admitted into the Forum, and put on the *toga virilis*.

44. *Quos viros:* Cicero, a few lines above, expresses his regret that Catiline did not carry with him to the camp of Manlius all his friends; he feared more the conspirators within the city than those without; they were of noble rank; they were immersed in debt; they were ready to commit any crime, however great.

18 1. *Illum exercitum:* The army of Catiline, when compared with the Gallic legions, with the levies Quintus Metellus had made in the

Picene and Gallic territory, and with the troops which the consuls 18
daily raised, deserved the contempt of Cicero.

5. *Qui vadimonia deserere:* In the court of the prætor in Rome, when the plaintiff had obtained a writ, he offered it to the defendant, or dictated it to him, and then required that the defendant should give bail for his appearance in court on a certain day. When the day arrived, if either party was absent without a valid excuse, he lost his cause. If the defendant was absent, he was said *deserere vadimonium*, and the prætor put the plaintiff in possession of his effects.

7. *Edictum Prætoris:* The writs of the prætor, conveying to the respective plaintiffs the goods and estates of each defendant.

15. *Apulia:* Apulia was assigned to Caius Julius, Etruria to Manlius, and the Picene territory to Septimius. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius were appointed to burn the city, to murder their enemies, and to put the senators to death. See *Introduction*, p. 166.

17. *Superioris noctis:* The night on which the conspirators met at the house of Marcus Læca.

19. *Hi:* This word refers to the conspirators who remained in the city.

34. *Gladiator:* Gladiators were men who fought against each other, and against wild beasts, for the amusement of the people. They were cruel and bloody-minded, often employed in assassination.

35. *Testamentorum subjector:* "Forger of wills."

7. *Ludo gladiatorio:* There were schools in Rome, in which gla- 19
diators were kept and maintained by persons called *lanistæ*, who purchased and trained them. At first, captives and slaves, or condemned malefactors, were trained as gladiators. But afterwards also free-born citizens, induced by hire or inclination, fought on the stage, some even of noble birth.

9. *In scenâ levior:* Actors were not so much respected among the Romans, as among the Greeks, but were held infamous.

39. *Unius virtute:* The person to whom these words refer, was Pompey, who by his military talents had at this time successfully terminated the Mithridatic war, and the war against the Pirates.

27. *Etenim (credo)*: This sentence is ironical. 20

30. *Se Massiliam:* Marseilles was a celebrated city in Narbonese Gaul. It is said by Sallust, that Catiline, after his departure from Rome, wrote letters to the most important inhabitants, in which he pretended that, being unable to withstand the persecution of his enemies, who had falsely accused him, he had retired to this city, not because he was conscious of any guilt, but to prevent the tumults and insurrections, which might be raised in his favor.

43. *Est mihi tanti:* See Note, page 13, line 27.

16. *Præter: Præter* in this place has the signification of *contra*. 21

27. *Exponam enim vobis:* Catiline had collected his partisans from six different classes of men, which Cicero here begins to enumerate, and also to prove to them, that peace, and order, and the regular administration of justice, would be more conducive to their prosperity, than the wicked measures they designed to follow.

34. *Tu agris:* This first class possessed great property, but owed great debts. They wished to retain their possessions, and defraud their creditors.

21 38. *An tabulas novas?* By the laws of the Twelve Tables, it was ordered, that insolvent debtors should be given up to their creditors to be bound in fetters and cords; and, although they did not entirely lose the rights of freemen, yet they were in actual slavery, and often treated more harshly than even slaves themselves. To check the cruelty of usurers, a law was afterwards made, by which it was provided, that no debtor should be kept in irons or in bonds; that the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be given up to his creditors. But the people, not satisfied with this, as it did not free them from prison, often afterwards demanded an entire abolition of debts, which they used to call *New Tables*. But this was never granted them. At one time, however, by a law passed by Valerius Flaccus, silver was paid with brass, that is, the fourth part of a debt only was paid; an *as* for a *sestertius*, and a *sestertius* for a *denarius;* or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. Such laws, and particularly laws for the abolition of debts, were often proposed by those demagogues, who wished to acquire great influence among the people. Catiline, in order to attach to himself the most indigent class of citizens, who were powerful in insurrections, had promised them New Tables, by which all their debts should be abolished.

22 4. *Alterum genus:* Men of ruined fortunes, who aspire after honors and commands, that, by oppressing the allies and subjects of the commonwealth, they may in some measure retrieve their affairs.

23. *Hi sunt homines:* Upon the conclusion of Sulla's civil war, he settled many of his soldiers at Fesulæ, upon lands of which he had deprived those who were opposed to him. These soldiers, having spent in debauchery the estates they acquired by plunder, wished another civil war, by which they might again enrich themselves at the expense of their country.

41. *Vadimoniis:* See Note, page 18, line 5.

23 13. *Ac sinu:* This expression indicates great familiarity and friendship; it implies that these effeminate and profligate boys, these gamesters, adulterers, and debauchees, frequently supped with Catiline, and were often in his company. At their meals, the Romans reclined upon couches. On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of their body reclined upon the left arm, the head a little raised, the body supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent. The feet of the first were behind the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. The head of the second was opposite to the breast of the first, so that, if he wanted to speak to him, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom, *in sinu recumbere;* therefore, to be *de complexu ejus ac sinu* was to be one of his most intimate friends.—*Imberbes, aut bene barbatos:* In the days of Cicero, the beard was shaven for the first time sooner or later, at pleasure; sometimes when the *toga virilis* was assumed, but usually about the age of twenty-one. Hence young men with a long down were called *juvenes barbatuli* or *bene barbati.*

15. *Manicatis et talaribus tunicis:* The Romans wore below the *toga* a white woollen vest called *tunica,* which came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind, at first without sleeves. Tunics with sleeves (*tunicæ manicatæ,*) or reaching to the ankles (*talares*), were reckoned effeminate.

17. *In antelucanis cœnis:* Suppers at which they sat all night.

26. *Noctibus:* This oration was delivered in November.—*Apenninum:* The Apennine mountains extend along the middle of Italy

30. *Cohortem prætoriam:* Scipio Africanus first instituted the Prætorian Cohort, whose business it was to attend and serve the general as his guard. 23

36. *Municipiorum*: Municipia were foreign towns, whose inhabitants obtained the rights of Roman citizens.

21. *Metellus:* This is the Quintus Metellus Celer, into whose custody Catiline offered to put himself, but who rejected him. 24

1. *Me uno togato duce:* The *toga* was the robe of peace; *togati* is often opposed to *armati.* 25

11. *Deorum immortalium significationibus:* Plutarch relates, that while the Vestal Virgins were performing sacred rites in Cicero's house, for the safety of the people, a flame suddenly issued from the altar. Many other omens happened about this time, of which Cicero made use as means to excite in the people a sense of their danger, and to persuade them that the gods interested themselves in the preservation of the city. These omens are more particularly mentioned in the succeeding oration.

13. *Ut quondam:* Referring to the Carthaginian war, and other times, when Rome was in danger from a foreign enemy.

THE THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

After Catiline's departure, Lentulus and other conspirators remained in Rome to engage in the conspiracy all who, from their vicious manners or necessitous circumstances, he thought would be very willing to promote a revolution; not citizens only, but any kind of men, who could be usefully employed. At this time there happened to be in the city deputies from the Allobrŏges, Gauls inhabiting the countries now called Savoy and Dauphiné, a warlike people, and ever disaffected to the Roman power. These deputies were come to solicit the senate for some relief under the burthen of those debts, with which the nation, as well as many private persons, was overwhelmed, through the oppressive avarice of the Roman governors. They had met with no success, and were about returning home, when Lentulus, knowing their circumstances, and thence imagining it would not be difficult to draw them into the plot, employed Umbrenus to discover to them the whole plan of the conspiracy, and to engage their concurrence. The Allobrŏges at first were pleased with the prospect, and promised to furnish the conspirators with a body of horse; but when they began to reflect upon what had been proposed to them, they resolved to discover all they had learned of the plot to Q. Fabius Sanga, who immediately gave intelligence of it to the consul. Cicero directed the deputies to feign a zeal for carrying on the enterprise, till they had got a full insight into the extent of the plot, with distinct proofs against the particular actors in it. They therefore procured a meeting of the conspirators, and insisted upon

an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, under their hands and seals, to show to their constituents, who, without such credentials, would never be induced to enter into an engagement so hazardous. Not suspecting any fraud, all complied, except Cassius who promised he would be in their country in a very short time. Vulturcius was appointed to introduce them to Catiline in their road, and Lentulus at the same time sent a particular letter to Catiline, under his own hand and seal, though without his name. Cicero, being informed of all the proceedings of this meeting, engaged the deputies to be upon the Mulvian bridge at a certain time of night with Vulturcius, their letters and papers, and told them that L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, two of the prætors, whom he had ordered to lie in ambush near the place with a strong guard of friends and soldiers, would there arrest them, and bring them to him. His directions were observed, and the prisoners brought to his house as soon as the day began to dawn. He immediately sent for Lentulus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Cethegus, who, suspecting nothing, came to him. The consul, being informed also of a quantity of arms provided by Cethegus for the use of the conspiracy, ordered C. Sulpicius, another of the prætors, to search his house, where he found a great number of swords and daggers, with other arms, newly cleaned, and ready for present service. Cicero then assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, carried thither the deputies and conspirators, related all he had discovered and done, examined the several parties, and made a complete discovery of the whole plot. The senate then, the witnesses and criminals being withdrawn, went into debate upon the state of the republic, and resolved, that public thanks should be decreed to Cicero, who had delivered the republic from the greatest dangers; that thanks should also be given to the prætors, Flaccus and Pomptinus, for their faithful execution of Cicero's orders; that the conspirators, who were taken, and others, who should afterwards be arrested, should be kept in safe custody; and that a public thanksgiving should be appointed in Cicero's name, for his having preserved the city from a conflagration, the citizens from a massacre, and Italy from a war. Cicero then went into the Rostra, and gave the people an account of the discovery, and of the resolutions of the senate thereupon in the following speech.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium.	Reddit, attentos,	declaratione beneficii Deorum.
	benevolos,	expositione laboris sui.
	dociles,	promissione declarandæ conjurationis.
Narratio.	Exponit,	diligentiam suam.
		Lentuli conjurationem.
		prætorum in literis intercipiendis fortitudinem
		conjuratorum comprehensionem.
		eorum et aliorum interrogationem.
		reorum perturbationem.
		senatûs-consultum in convictos et confessos.
		causas manifestationis conjuratorum.
Peroratio.	Populum hortatur,	ut gratias agat Diis.
		ut eum a sceleratorum insidiis protegat.
		ut Jovem Capitolinum veneretur.

Analysis Exordii.

Populum reddit

- Attentum, declaratione beneficii Deorum
  - in conservatione reipublicæ. 1.
  - civium. 1.
  - ipsius Urbis Romæ. 1.
- Benevolum, expositione laboris sui
  - in iisdem conservandis a cæde. 2.
  - atque incendio. 2.
- Docilem, promissione conjurationis declarandæ,
  - cujus magnitudinem et certitudinem aperiet. 2.
  - ac modum investigationis et comprehensionis. 2.

Narrationis Prima Pars.

Cicero declarat

- I. Diligentiam suam,
  - ut civium saluti consuleret. 2.
  - ut conjuratorum consilia cognosceret. 2.
- II. Lentuli conspirationem
  - cum Allobrogibus. 2.
  - cum Catilinâ. 2.
- III. Prætorum virtutes:
  - fortitudinem et amorem patriæ
    - in negotio suscipiendo. 2.
    - sine recusatione, sine morâ. 2.
  - prudentiam, in disponendis insidiis. 2.
  - felicitatem, in capiendis omnibus, sine sanguine. 2.
  - fidelitatem, in adducendis ad consulem. 2.
- IV. Conjuratorum comprehensionem:
  - Gabinii. 3.
  - Statilii. 3.
  - Cethegi. 3.
  - Lentuli. 3.
- V. Eorum aliorumque interrogationem:
  - Vulturcii, et Allobrogum. 4.
  - Cethegi, et sociorum. 5.
- VI. Reorum perturbationem.
  - ex colore, oculis, vultu. 5.
  - ex taciturnitate, et furtivo contuitu. 5.

Narrationis Secunda Pars.

Declarat,

- I. Senatûsconsultum, quo
  - conjurationem a republicâ removentibus, dantur præmia.
    - gratiarum actio, Ciceroni consuli. 6.
    - laus debita,
      - prætoribus Flacco et Pomptino. 6.
      - collegæ Ciceronis C. Antonio. 6.
  - conjurati in carcerem traduntur. 6.
  - Diis immortalibus supplicatio decernitur. 6.

- **II. Causas manifestationis conjuratorum:**
  - absentiam Catilinæ:
    - sine quo socii, ob varios defectus, non timendi. 7.
    - qui cum sociis, ob varias dotes, formidandus. 7.
  - Auxilium Deorum, ac præsertim Jovis, qui
    - conjurationem venturam præmonstrant,
      - per prodigia. 8.
      - per aruspices. 8.
    - ortam dissipârunt
      - per seipsos. 9.
      - per consulem Ciceronem. 9.
      - per legatos Allobrogum. 9

Peroratio.

Postulat

- 1. Ut in supplicatione Diis læti gratias agant:
  - quòd fuerint liberati a nece crudelissimâ,
    - sine cæde. 10.
    - sine sanguine. 10.
    - sine exercitu. 10.
    - sine dimicatione. 10.
  - quod vix contigit in dissensione; ut patet
    - in Sulla et Sulpicio. 10.
    - in Cinnâ et Octavio. 10.
    - in Sullâ et Marianis. 10.
    - in Lepido et Catulo. 10.
- II. Ut accepti a se beneficii sint memores·
  - illum, animo, amando. 11.
  - voce et scriptis, laudando. 11.
  - factis, protegendo. 12.
- III. Ut Jovem Capitolinum venerentur,
  - custodem Urbis. 12
  - et civium omnium. 12.

Page. Line.

25 21. *Domicilium:* Rome was called *domicilium imperii,* because i was the seat of government.

25. *Ex faucibus fati:* The word *fatum* was often used by the an cients to denote death, and the dissolution of states and empires.

30. *Romulum:* As Romulus, in the 37th year of Rome, and in the sixtieth of his age, was reviewing his troops in a plain without the city, a sudden storm of hail and thunder dispersed his soldiers. The senators, who had attended him, seeing him alone, thought this a fa vorable opportunity to put him to death, for the absolute tyranny which had lately marked his conduct. He therefore was slain, and his body immediately conveyed out of sight. To conceal the fact and their criminality, the senators reported that he was suddenly surrounded with a flame, and snatched up in it from earth to heaven. The report gained credit, and Romulus was worshipped as a deity.

26 27. *Comperi:* He was informed of this by Fabius Sanga, to whom the deputies themselves of the *Allobrŏges* communicated it.

41. *Pontem Mulvium:* The Mulvian or Milvian bridge was built over the Tiber, upon the road to Etruria. It was about two miles from the city.

27 1. *Præfecturâ Reatinâ:* *Reate* was a Sabine town. *Præfecturæ* were towns to which præfects were annually sent from Rome to administer justice, chosen partly by the people, and partly by the prætor.

3. *Tertiâ...vigiliâ:* The Romans divided the night into four watches. The third watch commenced about midnight, and terminated about three o'clock in the morning. 27

44. *Ex fatis Sibyllinis:* When Tarquinius Superbus was king of Rome, a certain woman, called Amalthea, from a foreign country, is said to have come to him, wishing to sell nine books of Sibylline or prophetic oracles. Being refused the price which she asked for them, she went away and burnt three of them. Returning soon after, she sought the same price for the remaining six. Refused again, she went and burnt other three, and, coming back, still demanded the same price for the three which remained. Tarquin, surprised at the strange conduct of the woman, consulted the Augurs, and bought the books. The woman, having delivered them, and received her price, desired them to be carefully kept, then suddenly disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. The books were found to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cumæ, and soon began to be religiously respected at Rome. They were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire, and were kept in a stone chest under ground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—*Aruspicumque responsis:* The Aruspices examined the victims and their entrails, after they were sacrificed, and from them, and also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifice, derived omens of futurity.

1. *Tertium illum Cornelium:* Among the Sibylline verses three K's were found, which, it was supposed, would be fatal to liberty. 28 They were applied by the Romans to the three Cornelii, Cornelius Cinna, Cornelius Sulla, and Cornelius Lentulus.

3. *Cinnam*: During the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, L. Cornelius Cinna, a man rash in counsel, but resolute in action, was raised to the consulship, and had no sooner entered upon his office, than he began to entertain a design of overturning all the acts Sulla had passed. Being soon after deposed, by the senate, from the dignity of consul, on account of illegal conduct, he left the city, raised an army in Italy, recalled Marius, who had been banished, made himself master of Rome, murdered the friends of Sulla, who was conducting the war in Asia against Mithridates, and whom he declared banished from the city, and, for three successive years, usurped the consulship, and associated with himself whom he pleased as colleagues. At the expiration of these years, Sulla made a peace with Mithridates, and came toward Rome; and such were the number and importance of his victories, the splendor and riches of his army, and the greatness of his power, that when Cinna had raised troops to oppose him, they revolted from their general, and, when he menaced them, slew him.—*Sullam:* The enmity between Marius and Sulla first arose from a dispute concerning the glory of terminating the Jugurthine war. The immediate cause of their hostile actions against each other, was a law passed by P. Sulpicius, transferring the command of the Asiatic expedition against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. The law was passed illegally; Sulla, who was but a short distance from Rome, immediately returned, and procured the banishment of Marius and the death of Sulpicius. He then successfully conducted the Asiatic war. In his absence, the Marian faction under Cinna again took command of the city; Marius was recalled, Sulla was banished in his turn, and his friends were murdered. After his peace with Mithridates, however, Sulla returned to the city in defiance of the orders of the senate, and conquered his enemies.

28 But it is agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel use of victory. Marius had died while Sulla was in Asia; none of his friends escaped, when the tyrant made himself master of Rome, usurped sovereign power, and became Perpetual Dictator. According to Valerius Maximus, above 4700 persons were proscribed and murdered. After passing a number of laws, and retaining his despotic authority for four years, Sulla at length abdicated the dictatorship, and the next year died of a distemper, called the Lousy Disease. A few days before his death, he composed his epitaph, the substance of which was, "no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himself on his enemies."

5. *Virginum absolutionem:* The violation of the chastity of a Vestal was thought in Rome to forebode some great calamity to the state. Fabia, a sister of Terentia, who was the wife of Cicero, had a few years before been guilty of this crime, but, through the influence of her friends, was absolved.

6. *Capitolii autem incensionem:* In the 670th year of Rome, the capitol was burnt, through the carelessness of its keepers; this circumstance also was supposed to portend some great evil.

8. *Saturnalibus*: *Saturnalia*, or the feasts of Saturn, were celebrated on the seventeenth of December. At this time, friends sent presents to one another, masters treated their slaves upon an equal footing, and all orders in the city were devoted to mirth and feasting.

12. *Linum incidimus:* The Romans, in the time of Cicero, folded their letters in the form of a little book, tied them round with a thread, covered the knot with wax, or with a kind of chalk, and sealed them with their rings.

24. *Imago avi tui:* It was usual among the Romans to have the head of some great man engraved upon their rings. P. Lentulus, the grandfather of the conspirator, had borne the title of Prince of the Senate, and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of Caius Gracchus, in which he received a dangerous wound.

30. *Surrexit:* Lentulus sat, because he was a senator. He had once been expelled the senate, by the censors, for the notorious infamy of his life, but, by obtaining the prætorship a second time, which office he now held, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council.—*Quæsivit a Gallis....a Vulturcio:* He asked the Gauls and Vulturcius this question, because he thought they would not betray him.

33. *Per quem:* Umbrēnus.

37. *Ingenium:* Historians say of Lentulus, that, though his parts were but moderate, or rather slow, the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker.

41. *Vulturcius....jussit:* Impunity being promised Vulturcius, if he would faithfully inform the senate of all the proceedings of the conspirators, he determined to make a full discovery.

29 15. *Principibus:* In consulting the senate, the same order was not always observed; but usually the *princeps senatûs* was first desired to deliver his opinion, unless when there were consuls elect, who were always asked first; and then the rest of the senate, according to their dignity; *Consulares*, *Prætorii*, *Æditii*, *Tribunitii*, and *Quæstorii*.

23. *Collegæ meo:* Antonius, before his election to the consulship, united his interests with Catiline in opposition to Cicero; but, Cicero having carried his election, Antonius was given to him as a colleague, as he was preferable to Catiline. The first object of Cicero,

after he had entered upon his office, was to gain Antonius's coöperation in his measures, and this he effected by bribing him with the government of Macedonia. This Antonius was an uncle of Mark Antony, the triumvir. 29

26. *Præturâ abdicâsset:* No person in Rome could be brought to trial or punished, unless in a private station.—*In custodiam:* Criminals were often placed in the secret custody of private citizens, to prevent their being liberated by popular insurrections in their favor.

35. *Libertinum hominem:* In Rome slaves made free were called *liberti* and *libertini; liberti* in relation to their masters, *libertini* in relation to freeborn citizens. Some think that *libertini* were the sons of the *liberti;* but this distinction never occurs in the classics; on the contrary, both words are applied to the same persons by writers who flourished at different times.

41. *Supplicatio....mihi....togato:* When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) was decreed by the senate to be made in all the temples. This honor, which was decreed to Cicero, was never conferred on any other person in his robe of peace (*togatus*).

2. *Bene gestâ:* A thanksgiving had been decreed to others for promoting the interest of the republic, to Cicero alone for having preserved it. 30

7. *Magistratu se abdicavit:* Plutarch says of Lentulus, that in the middle of the senate he threw off his purple robe, and assumed one indicative of his circumstances.—*Quæ religio:* See Note, page 8, line 9. The meaning of this passage is: "that we may be free from that scruple in punishing P. Lentulus, a private man, which scruple was disregarded by C. Marius, an illustrious citizen, when he put to death C. Glaucia, the prætor, against whom nothing was expressly decreed."

17. *P. Lentuli somnum:* The character given of Lentulus is, that he was lazy, luxurious, and profligately wicked, yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect from the overthrow of the government to be the first man in the republic.

19. *Ille:* Catiline.

33. *Saturnalia constituisset:* Notwithstanding the dissent of Cethegus, the feasts of Saturn were appointed by the conspirators as the days on which they would burn the city and murder the citizens.

8. *Faces:* Several meteors appeared at this time. 31

10. *Canere:* Signifies in this place *to forebode.*

17. *Quem inauratum:* There was a gilded statue of Romulus in the Capitol, which represented him as an infant sucking at the dugs of a female wolf. This statue is still preserved in the modern Capitol at Rome, with the mark of the lightning visible upon it.

20. *Aruspices....Etruriâ:* The Tuscan soothsayers were the most celebrated for their skill.

27. *Simulacrum Jovis:* The Tuscan soothsayers had reported, that if a larger statue of Jupiter were made, and placed in a conspicuous situation, and in a posture contrary to that in which it had formerly stood, with its face toward the east, so that it could see at once the rising sun, the Forum and the senate-house, the treasons of the conspirators would be fully discovered. The discovery was made, as it was fortunately predicted, the very day on which the statue was erected, by Cicero, in the manner prescribed.

32 3. *Ædem Concordiæ:* Cicero assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, when he communicated to them the detection of the conspirators.

37. *L. Sulla P. Sulpicium:* See note, page 28, line 3.

38. *Custodem hujus urbis:* This appellation was bestowed on Marius on account of his victories over the Cimbri.

39. *Cn. Octavius:* Octavius was a friend of Sulla, and the colleague of Cinna, when the latter was expelled from Rome. See Note, page 28, line 3. The *lumina exstincta,* mentioned in the text, refer to the deaths of many great men, who were slain in the contests of these factions.

33 2. *M. Lepidus:* Lepidus and his colleague Catulus at first had a warm dispute about the funeral of Sulla; afterwards Lepidus, to acquire distinction and power, placed himself at the head of the Marian faction, which still remained, and made some attempts to abolish the laws and institutions of Sulla; but, being opposed by Catulus, he raised forces in Etruria, was declared a public enemy, and, after some ill success, died of a disorder, which became mortal through the grief he experienced on account of the incontinency of his wife, whom he affectionately loved.

12. *Dijudicatæ sint:* "Were terminated."

27. *Mutum....tacitum:* The former of these words refers to statues, &c., the latter to triumphs and similar ceremonies.

34. *Duos cives:* Pompey the Great and Cicero. Pompey about this time had successfully conducted the Mithridatic war, and war of the Pirates.

34 15. *Quidquam altius:* The consulship was the highest dignity in the state.

THE FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

The senate, the next day after that in which the consul had communicated the detection of the conspirators, ordered public rewards to be given to the deputies of the Gauls and to Vulturcius, for their discoveries; but in the mean time the city being alarmed by reports of new plots, formed by the slaves and partisans of Lentulus and Cethegus for their rescue, Cicero resolved to terminate the affair as soon as possible, and therefore, on the succeeding day, summoned the senate to determine the question concerning the punishment which should be inflicted upon the prisoners. The opinion of Silanus, the consul elect, was first given; he thought that those of the conspirators, who were already committed to custody, men who had confessed themselves guilty of treason against the republic, and others, who were engaged in the conspiracy, who might afterwards be taken, should be put to death. In this advice many of the senators, who spoke after him, concurred, till the opinion of Julius Cæsar, then

prætor elect, was asked. Cæsar, who was by many suspected of having encouraged and promoted the designs of the conspirators, was mild in his sentence; but such was his art, that he shrouded his misplaced clemency under the mantle of rigid justice. He said, if the prisoners deserved the most severe punishment, as it was observed, he dissented from the opinion which had been advanced. Death, he thought, was not designed by the immortal gods as a punishment, but either as a necessary law of nature, or a cessation of toils and misery; it was his opinion, that bonds and perpetual imprisonment were contrived for the punishment of the most detestable crimes; and he therefore advised, that the estates of the criminals should be confiscated, that their persons should be closely confined in the strongest of the municipal towns, and that it should be unlawful for any one hereafter to move the senate or people in their favor. His speech made a great impression upon his auditors; it is said, even Silanus altered his opinion, and that the friends of Cicero, solicitous for his safety, which they thought would be secured by mild measures, readily concurred in Cæsar's advice. Cicero, however, perceiving the opinions of the senators to be changing, is supposed to have risen, and delivered the following oration, the tendency of which, although it had the semblance of neutrality, strongly supported the counsel of Silanus. It is, however, the opinion of some, that this oration was never spoken, but that it contains many internal probable proofs of its being, not an extemporary speech, but a labored composition, made at leisure, many years after the debate.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium.	Reddit benevolos. attentos. dociles.
Propositio.	De conjuratione statuendum, ante noctem. Sententiæ et Silani, et Cæsaris.
Contentio.	Sententias Silani et Cæsaris fusiùs explicat. Conjuratorum pœnam justam fore declarat. Animi sui robur intrepidum profitetur.
Peroratio.	enumerat auxilia, ut non timeant conjuratos. causas, ut eos puniant. commendat seipsum. filium suum. rempublicam.

Analysis Exordii.

Benevolos reddit declaratione, quòd sit	gratus erga ipsos, ob eorum erga se benevolentiam. 1. de se non sollicitus, ob amorem patriæ. 1. de familiâ anxius, ob mœrorem suorum. 2.
Attentos, exhortatione, ut	sibi consulant. 2. reipublicæ prospiciant. 2.
Dociles, descriptione conjuratorum, qui	pejores aliis omnibus. 2. damnati a senatu. 3.

Propositio.

- **Conjurationem declarat**
  - I. Esse opinione majorem. 3.
    - Ideo, ante noctem, de illâ statuendum. 3.
  - II. Esse latissimè dispersam. 3.
    - Ideo celeriter vindicandam. 3.
- **Sententiam aperit**
  - I. Silani, qui ad mortem damnat conjuratos. 4.
  - II. Cæsaris, qui, non morti, sed variis pœnis conjuratos addicit. 4.

Contentio.

- **Cæsaris et Silani severitas prudens:**
  - I. Cæsaris, qui vitam servat, sed
    - conjuratos excludit a favore legis Semproniæ. 5.
    - hostes, non cives, censendos fatetur. 5.
    - Lentulum largitorem et prodigum vituperat. 5
    - perpetuo carceri omnes addicit. 5.
    - de illis ampliùs ad senatum aut populum referri vetat. 5.
  - II. Silani, qui ad necem damnat,
    - ob conjurationem, de incendendâ urbe. 6.
      - de trucidandis civibus. 6.
      - de imperio Urbis et orbis invadendo 6.
      - de vexandis conjugatis et virginibus. 6.
- **Conjuratorum punitio justa:**
  - comparatione explicat. 6.
  - exemplo illustrat. 6.
- **Consulis fortitudo, cùm**
  - sentiat omnes cum senatu pro republicâ stare. 7.
  - equites, tribunos, ærarios, scribas. 7.
  - ingenuos, libertos, servos. 7, 8.

Peroratio.

Continet

- **Enumerationem**
  - auxiliorum; ut non timeant conjuratos. 9.
  - causarum; ut eos puniant. 9.
- **Amplificationem, quâ**
  - commendat
  - seipsum
    - a multitudine inimicorum. 10.
    - ab animi robore. 10.
    - a mortis contemptu. 10.
    - ab obtentâ gloriâ. 10.
    - a periculis futuris. 10.
    - a contemptu provinciæ, et honorum adjunctorum. 11.
  - filium suum,
    - ab ætate. 11.
    - a parente. 11.
  - rempublicam,
    - a salute senatûs et populi. 11.
    - a conservatione rerum sacrarum et profanarum.

Line. Page.

7. *Forum:* The Forum was a large oblong space between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, where the assemblies of the people were held, where justice was administered, and public business transacted. Cicero had frequently been in danger in the Forum from the designs of Catiline.—*Campus:* The Campus Martius was a large plain along the Tiber, consecrated to Mars. On this plain the *Comitia Centuriata* were held for creating consuls, prætors, censors, and other magistrates; and in this place also Catiline several times attempted to put Cicero to death. 35

9. *Curia:* In the "senate-house," likewise, Catiline had threatened the life of Cicero.

10. *Domus....lectus:* These words refer to the attempt, which the two knights, mentioned in the first oration, made to kill Cicero in his bed.—*Domus, commune perfugium:* It was unlawful, according to the Twelve Tables, to force any person to court from his own house, because a man's house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any person lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the prætor; and if he still did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects.

11. *Hæc sedes honoris:* The Roman consuls, prætors, censors, and chief ædiles, were called *magistratus curules* from the name of the vehicles in which they used to ride, *currus;* and the seat, on which these magistrates sat in the senate-house, the Rostra, or tribunal of justice, was called *sella curulis.*

15. *Hunc exitum consulatûs:* Cicero is supposed to have delivered this oration on the 5th of December, and, as Decius Junius Silanus, and Lucius Licinius Muræna, the consuls elect, were to enter upon their office on the first of January, his consulship would soon expire.

17. *Virginesque Vestales:* These virgins were consecrated to the worship of Vesta, the goddess of fire. Their duties were to keep the sacred fire always burning, to keep the secret pledge of the empire, supposed to have been the *Palladium* or *Penates* of the Roman people, and to perform constantly the sacred rites of the goddess. They wore a long white robe bordered with purple, and enjoyed singular privileges and honors. The prætors and consuls, when they met them in the street, lowered their *fasces,* and went out of the way to show them respect.

18. *Templa atque delubra: Templa* were buildings, the situations of which were appointed, and which were consecrated, by the augurs; *delubra* were buildings in which images of any gods were placed.

27. *Mihi parcere:* In Rome every act of the senate or people was ascribed to the person who summoned the assembly, as he presided in it, and put the question; the odium of putting the conspirators to death would therefore fall upon Cicero, though the senate voted it; he, however, tells them to cease their concern for him, and be regardful only of the public interest.

31. *Turpis. ..immatura....misera:* A brave man would never die basely—a consular man could never die immaturely; when he attained consular dignity, he attained the highest pitch of political elevation—a wise man would not die miserably; it was a doctrine of the philosophy of the Stoics, that he would not be unhappy in the most excruciating torments.

35 33. *Fratris:* Many of the relations and friends of Cicero were present, and greatly concerned in the issue of the debate; this brother was Quintus Cicero, a brave man and good soldier.

36. *Exanimata uxor:* Terentia, from the many attempts already made to kill Cicero, was in much fear, that he would finally be murdered.

37. *Filia:* Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was celebrated for her beauty, her manners, and her learning. She was first married to C. Calpurnius Piso, afterwards to Crassipes, and lastly to Dolabella.—*Filius.... obsidem:* Men who had children were supposed to be more anxious for the public safety than those who had no offspring. Cicero, therefore, says, that his son, who was named Marcus, and was about a year old, was a kind of hostage in the hands of the republic, that gave the strongest assurance, that the father would undertake nothing but what he thought would promote the public interest. Marcus, after the death of his father, attained the consulship under Augustus.

40. *Gener:* Piso, at this time the husband of Tullia.

36 2. *Ti. Gracchus:* See Note, page 7, line 20, page 8, line 6; and page 8, line 9.

9. *Servitia excitantur:* Slaves at first were rejected by the conspirators, but afterwards were invited to join the conspiracy.

32. *Ante noctem:* This was necessary, because it was feared that the friends of the conspirators would raise a tumult during the night, and attempt to rescue them, and because no decree could be passed after sunset.

42. *Alteram C. Cæsaris:* This mildness of Cæsar, although it wore the appearance of severity, induced many to suspect, that he had secretly encouraged the conspirators; and he was so unpopular at that time, that, it is said, the knights would have killed him as he came out of the house, if he had not been protected by Cicero.

37 37. *Tanquam obsidem:* Cicero, knowing the suspicions entertained of Cæsar, construes his opinion as given from a conviction of its utility, justice and severity.

39. *Cincionatorum:* Turbulent speakers and seditious tribunes.

41. *Abesse non neminem:* This passage alludes to the folly of some one, who, desirous of being popular, absented himself from the senate, that he might not be guilty of the unpopular act of voting for the death of a Roman citizen. With the conduct of this person, whose name history has not transmitted to us, Cicero contrasts that of Cæsar, who was a great favorite of the people, and by implication asserts, that the best means of attaining popularity is the undeviating pursuit of the public interest.

38 4. *Legem Semproniam:* A law of Caius Sempronius Gracchus said, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen, without the order of the people.

6. *Latorem legis:* See Note, page 8, line 6.

18. *Ad concionem:* As it was in the power of the people to reverse any decree of the senate, it was usual for the person, who proposed any extraordinary decree in the latter assembly, to defend it before the people.

33. *Purpuratum.... Gabinium:* Magistrates in Rome wore a *toga* bordered with purple.

39 3. *Qui id egerunt:* It is said, this passage is exaggeration; the conspirators promised the Allobrogians an abatement only, or perhaps an abolition of their taxes.

9. *L. Cæsar....sororis....virum:* The husband of Julia, the sister of L. Cæsar, was Lentulus, the conspirator. L. Cæsar was an uncle of C. Julius Cæsar, and grandson of M. Fulvius Flaccus, mentioned in the note, page 8, line 6. Julia was the mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir, by a former marriage with Marcus Antonius Criticus; and it is said by Plutarch, that the punishment of Lentulus was the source of the enmity which existed between Mark Antony and Cicero. 39

12. *Avum....filiumque ejus:* M. F. Flaccus (see Note, page 8, line 6), whose youngest son, a beautiful youth, was sent, bearing a *caduceus* in his hand, to make proposals of peace to Opimius. The consul rejected them, and forbade the boy to come again, unless to signify the submission of those who sent him. Being ordered back by his father Fulvius with a second message, Opimius imprisoned and afterwards put him to death.

38. *Forum:* This oration was delivered to the senate in the Forum

39. *Hujus loci ac templi:* The senate could not be held but in one of the *curiæ*. The curiæ were buildings consecrated as temples by the augurs, but not to any particular deity.

3. *Equites Romanos:* The order of Roman knights had nothing in it analogous or similar to any order of modern knighthood, but depended entirely upon a *census* or valuation of their estates, which was usually made every five years by the censors in their *lustrum*, or general review of the whole people. All those people, whose entire fortune amounted to 400 *sestertia* (£3229 sterling), were enrolled, of course, in the list of *equites*. The badges of *equites* were a horse given them by the public, a golden ring, a narrow strip of purple sewed on the breast of their tunic, and a separate place at the public spectacles. 40

6. *Dissensione:* The office of *equites* at first was only to serve in the army; but afterwards also to act as judges, and to farm the public revenues. Judges were chosen from the senate, till the year of Rome 631; then the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus transferred the right of judging to the knights. This law caused dissensions between the senators and knights for many years, during which, several laws, alternately favorable to each party, were passed. At length the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, the prætor, determined that judges should be chosen from the senators, the *equites*, and the *tribuni ærarii*, and laid the foundation of a reconciliation, that the influence of Cicero, which was great among both the senators and knights, completed.

8. *Consulatu confirmatam meo:* No man in Rome was so capable of uniting in the same cause the senators and knights as Cicero. He was at the head of the senate, and, being descended from a family of equestrian rank, was a favorite of the knights. His policy in reconciling the two orders was of much service to the republic.

12. *Tribunos ærarios:* These were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expenses of the army.—*Scribas: Scribæ* were notaries or clerks, who wrote out the public accounts, the laws, and all the proceedings of the magistrates.

14. *Ab exspectatione sortis:* The scribes were assembled, on this occasion, to divide among themselves the offices of the ensuing year, to decide who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the prætors, &c. This was done every year, and like other offices at Rome, de-

40 termined by lot. While they were thus engaged, they saw the prisoners conducted to the senate-house, and, immediately leaving all their private concerns, came and offered their assistance to secure the safety of the republic.

41 12. *Penatium:* This word here means the guardian gods of the republic; in other places it often means the household gods, who presided over families.

13. *Ignem Vestæ:* It was one of the duties of the Vestal virgins to keep the sacred fire always burning, watching it alternately in the night; whoever allowed it to go out, was scourged. This accident was always esteemed unlucky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire was lighted up again from the rays of the sun, in which manner it was renewed every year on the first of March, that day anciently being the beginning of the year.

24. *Una nox:* The night of the feast of Saturn, the time appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their designs.

28. *Mea vox... princeps:* The consul was the most powerful officer of the republic.

43. *Scipio:* Publius Scipio, who, by his military success in Africa, obliged Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, to evacuate Italy, and afterwards conquered him in his own country, for which he was surnamed *Africanus*.

42 1. *Alter....Africanus:* P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, an adopted son of Scipio Africanus, made his first campaign in the 17th year of his age, and afterwards conquered and destroyed Carthage and Numantia; for which he successively acquired the surnames *Africanus* and *Numantinus*.

3. *L. Paulus:* L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedon, whose king, Perses, walked in chains before the chariot of the Roman general at his triumphal entry into Rome.

5. *Marius....bis Italiam....liberavit:* By his victories over the Teutoni, the Ambrones, and Cimbri. Marius was a citizen of Arpinum, the native place of Cicero.

6. *Pompeius:* Pompey the Great, of whom more is said in the oration upon the Manilian law.

43 1. *Fanis: Fana* were chapels consecrated to inferior deities or demigods.

4. *Parere....non dubitet:* These words imply a willingness to put the conspirators to death.

6. *Possit:* When Cicero had concluded, Cato rose, and, after praising Cicero, advocated his sentiments, and the opinion of Silanus; and, concluding his speech, said, "My opinion therefore is, that since the criminals have been convicted, both by testimony and their own confession, of a detestable treason against the republic, they should suffer the punishment of death, according to the customs of our ancestors." A decree was then passed conformable to this opinion, and Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius were strangled in prison. Catiline and his forces were soon after slain by the army under the consul, Antonius. Thus ended this dangerous conspiracy, for his conduct in suppressing which, Cicero was proclaimed *Father of his Country*.

THE ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS celebrated oration, the first which Cicero delivered from the Rostra, was pronounced in the 687th year of Rome, in the 41st year of the orator's age, and three years before the orations against Catiline. The Romans at that time were engaged in war with Mithridates, king of Pontus. This monarch, able, ambitious, warlike, and a second Hannibal in military talents, as well as in hatred to the Romans, disdained to submit to the commands of the Roman commissioners in Asia, which checked his enterprises, and, in cool blood, ordered eighty thousand Roman citizens to be massacred in one day. Sulla, and, after him, Lucullus, had been sent against this powerful prince; but, though they repeatedly defeated him, they had not entirely subdued him. The prevalence and oppressive administration of the Marian faction in Rome obliged the former general to make peace with Mithridates, and give him an opportunity to retrieve his affairs, and make more vigorous opposition in future. Lucullus probably would have subjugated him, had not a mutiny in the Roman army existed, and had not the general's personal enemies in Rome persuaded the senate to recall him. These unfortunate incidents enabled Mithridates to become master of the field; the Roman army was dissipated; the Roman general was removed; Glabrio, the consul, who was sent to succeed Lucullus, was a man of inferior talents. At this time, Manilius, one of the tribunes, proposed a law, that Pompey, who was then in Cilicia terminating the piratic war, should have the government of Asia added to his commission, with the command of the Mithridatic war, and of all the Roman armies in those parts. This law was much opposed by the senate, who were unwilling to confer so extensive authority upon any individual, but was so acceptable to the people, of whom Pompey was a great favorite, that none but Catulus and Hortensius, who had both passed through the consulship, dared to speak against it. It was defended by Servilius Isauricus and Cæsar; Cicero also, at that time prætor, most eloquently advocated it in this oration.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium.	Captat benevolentiam. et attentionem.
Narratio.	Exponit quale sit bellum Asiaticum. Partitionem subjungit totius orationis.
Confirmatio.	Declarat genus belli. magnitudinem. ducem eligendum.
Confutatio.	Refellit Hortensii objectiones. et Catuli.
Peroratio.	Manilium laudat, et animat. Seipsum prædicat reipublicæ studiosum.

Analysis Exordii.

- **Benevolentiam captat:**
  - I. A laude plebis Romanæ:
    - cujus aspectus jucundissimus. 1.
    - cujus concio amplissima et ornatissima. 1.
  - II. A suâ modestiâ: ob quam
    - publicis se rebus non immiscuerit. 1
    - privatis amicorum causis vacaverit. 1.
  - III. A gratitudine suâ: quâ
    - gratias agit de mandatis sibi honoribus. 1.
    - gratiam se relaturum pollicetur,
      - auctoritate. 1.
      - dicendi facultate. 1.
- **Attentionem:**
  - a causæ magnitudine. 1.
  - a materiæ ubertate. 1.

Narratio et Partitio.

- **Narratio, in quâ exponit**
  - bellum Asiaticum:
    - grave et periculosum:
      - vectigalibus. 2.
      - sociis. 2.
    - illatum a regibus:
      - Mithridate. 2.
      - Tigrane. 2.
  - damna inde percepta: quæ
    - equites Romani equitibus scribunt. 2.
    - socii sentiunt:
      - Bithyni. 2.
      - Cappadoces. 2.
    - duces non impediunt:
      - Lucullus. 2.
      - Glabrio. 2.
    - Pompeius solus impedire potest:
      - petitus a sociis. 2.
      - et a civibus Romanis. 2
- **Partitio.**
  - I. De genere belli. 2.
  - II. De ejus magnitudine. 2.
  - III. De imperatore deligendo. 2.

Confirmationis Prima Pars.

In hoc bello agitur

- **I. Gloria populi Romani:**
  - ob ignominiam præsentem: cùm
    - Mithridates gloriosè regnet,
      - multis civium Romanorum militibus trucidatis. 3.
      - Asiâ provinciâ occupatâ. 3.
      - classibus et exercitibus comparatis. 4
      - fœdere cum hostibus populi Romani inito. 4.
    - duces Romani eum reliquerint,
      - Sulla et Murena, regnantem. 3.
      - Lucullus, victorem. 4.
  - ob gloriæ conservationem antiquam: cùm
    - mercatores et nautæ injuriosiùs tractati. 5.
    - legati superbiùs appellati. 5.

- II. Salus sociorum:
  - Ariobarzanis, qui regno expulsus,
    - licèt socius. 5.
    - et amicus. 5.
  - Asiaticorum, qui timent duos reges,
    - inimicissimos populo Romano. 5.
    - inimicissimos sociis ejus. 5.
  - Græcorum, qui auxilium petunt datum olim,
    - contra Antiochum. 6.
    - contra Philippum. 6.
    - contra Ætolos. 6.
    - contra Pœnos. 6.
- III. Vectigalia reipublicæ
  - ex agris Asiæ. 6.
  - ex ejus pascuis. 6.
  - ex portubus. 6.
  - provinciæ opimæ. 6.
  - et fertilis 6.
- IV. Bona privata civium:
  - publicanorum. 7.
  - negotiatorum. 7.
  - argentariorum. 7.
  - aliorum multorum. 7.

Confirmationis Secunda Pars.

- Bellum gessit Lucullus in principio felix.
  - Mithridatem hostem vicit:
    - copiis ejus terrestribus, deletis. 8
    - urbe Cyzico, liberatâ. 8.
    - classe navali, superatâ. 8.
    - Ponti regno, aperto. 8.
    - oppidis plurimis, occupatis. 8.
    - rege ipso spoliato, et in fugam acto. 8.
  - Amicos populi Romani conservavit:
    - socios. 8.
    - vectigales. 8.
- In fine, infelix.
  - Mithridatem victum suscepit rex potentissimus. 9.
  - Lucullum victorem impetiverunt plurimi:
    - populi et reges. 9.
    - milites proprii. 9.
  - legatus Triarius, cum exercitu, ab hoste contritus est. 9.
  - dux Lucullus, in Italiam a populo Romano revocatus. 9.

Confirmationis Tertia Pars.

In Pompeio excellunt,

- 1. Scientia rei militaris
  - in pueritiâ,
    - mediâ, a patre in exercitu eruditus. 10.
    - extremâ, Sullæ summi ducis miles. 10.
  - in adolescentiâ, maximi dux exercitûs. 10.
  - in vitâ reliquâ, mirabilis,
    - ob multitudinem bellorum: nam
      - sæpius cum hoste conflixit, quàm alii cum inimico. 10.
      - plura bella gessit, quàm alii legerunt. 10.
      - plures provincias confecit, quàm alii concupiverunt. 10.
    - ob gerendi modum: nam
      - non alienis præceptis; sed suis imperiis. 10.
      - non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis. 10.
      - non stipendiis, sed triumphis. 10.
    - ob varia eorum genera: nempe
      - civile, Africanum, Transalpinum. 10.
      - Hispaniense, servile, navale. 10.

- **II. Virtutes,**
  - **imperatoriæ:**
    - **omnibus ducibus necessariæ:**
      - labor in negotio. 11.
      - fortitudo in periculo. 11.
      - industria in agendo. 11.
      - celeritas in conficiendo. 11.
      - consilium in providendo. 11.
    - **in Pompeio semper eximiæ:**
      - ut testantur Italia, Sicilia, Africa. 11.
      - Gallia, Hispania, omnes imperii provinciæ. 11.
    - **per bellum piraticum magis manifestæ:**
      - ubique diffusum: nam
        - nullus locus erat tutus. 11.
        - nullus homo in mari securus. 11.
        - nulla provincia a prædonibus libera. 11.
        - nullum vectigal certum. 11.
        - nullus socius defensus. 11.
        - multæ insulæ desertæ. 11.
        - multæ urbes captæ. 11.
        - mare clausum exercitibus. 12.
        - legati populi Romani auro redempti. 12.
        - portus in ipsâ Italiâ direpti. 12.
        - classis consulis oppressa. 12.
      - ubique per eum exstinctum: nam
        - naves prædonum captæ. 12.
        - provinciæ præsidiis firmatæ. 12
        - Cilicia domita. 12.
        - Creta ejus voluntati permissa. 12
        - gentes liberatæ. 12.
  - **politicæ:**
    - **innocentia,**
      - rara in imperatoribus, qui
        - centurionatus vendunt. 13.
        - pecuniâ datâ abutuntur. 13.
        - socios affligunt. 13.
        - seipsos non continent. 13.
      - mira in Pompeio: qui
        - in itinere, milites reprimit. 13
        - in hibernis, nemini vim affert. 13.
    - **temperantia:**
      - avaritiam et libidinem domat. 14.
      - pigritiam et curiositatem. 14.
    - **comitas,**
      - admissis ad se infimis. 14.
      - auditis eorum querelis. 14.
    - **consilium et eloquentia,**
      - dicendo graviter. 14.
      - et copiosè. 14.
    - **fides:**
      - quam socii magni æstimant. 14.
      - hostes sanctissimam judicant. 14.
    - **humanitas:**
      - quam hostes victi diligunt. 14.
      - ut virtutem pugnantes timuerunt. 14.
- **III. Auctoritas,**
  - in hostes. 15.
  - in socios. 15.
  - in cives. 15.
- **IV. Felicitas:** ob quam
  - Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, a populo imperia mandata. 16.
  - Pompeio a Diis ubique victoriæ concessæ. 16.

Confutatio.

- **Hortensio: qui**
  - objiciebat I. Omnia ad unum non esse referenda. 17.
  - respondet, Deceptus est jam, cùm idem diceret in bello piratico. 17.
  - objiciebat II. Gabinium non esse dandum legatum Pompeio. 19.
  - respondet, Justum est dari: cùm
    - Pompeius poscat. 19.
    - Gabinius auctor sit legis. 19.
    - aliis id datum sit. 19.
- **Catulo: qui**
  - objiciebat I. Vitæ Pompeii consulendum, ut reipublicæ diu prodesset. 20.
  - respondet, Fruendum ejus vitâ, dum licet. 20.
  - objiciebat II. Nihil novi faciendum. 20.
  - respondet I. Multa nova facta:
    - a majoribus, in Scipione et Mario. 20.
    - a Catulo, et aliis senatoribus in ipso Pomp. 21.
  - respondet II. Nova fieri postulat,
    - ratio; nam
      - alii duces expilant fana. 22.
      - urbes. 22.
      - domos. 22
    - auctoritas,
      - P. Servilii. 23.
      - C. Curionis. 23.
      - Cn. Lentuli. 23.
      - C. Cassii. 23.

Peroratio.

- **Manilium,**
  - laudat, ob legem propositam. 24.
  - hortatur, ad constantiam. 24.
- **Seipsum,**
  - offert adjutorem:
    - studio, consilio, labore, ingenio. 24.
    - potestate a populo acceptâ. 24.
    - auctoritate, fide, constantiâ. 24.
  - prædicat amatorem,
    - nec gratiæ Pompeii. 24.
    - nec auxilii potentiorum. 24.
    - sed reipublicæ et sociorum. 24.

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8. *Locus.... amplissimus....ornatissimus:* The people were assembled at this time in a part of the Forum which was called *Comitium*, where the pulpit or tribunal stood, from which the orators used to harangue them; it was afterwards called Rostra, because it was adorned with the *beaks* of the ships taken from the Antiates. In this place none spoke, except men of distinction and magistrates. A great proportion of the most important business of the republic was here transacted. The orations here delivered were much more polished and elegant than those pronounced in the courts of the judges. Hence the epithets *amplissimus*, *ornatissimus*. 43

10. *Optimo cuique....patuit:* Magistrates were permitted to address the people from the Rostra; the Magistracies were open to every good man who was desirous of election.

15. *Temporibus:* is often used by Cicero for *periculis*. In the early part of his life he advocated the causes of many of his friends.

43 18. *Castè integrèque:* Cincius, a Tribune, in the year of the city 549, passed a law, that no one should take money or a present for pleading a cause.

20. *Ter prætor primus:* Comitia for electing magistrates and enacting laws were often dissolved by some person's taking the auspices, which deferred the meeting to another day. This was an expedient often used by those public officers, who were opposed to a successful candidate or a popular law, to prevent the passing of the one or the election of the other. In the year in which Cicero offered himself candidate for the prætorship, by the promulgation of several laws, to which the senate were much opposed, the Comitia were so often dissolved, it was feared there would be no election. These disturbances, however, were the occasion of an unexpected honor to Cicero, in the three different assemblies convened for the choice of prætors, two of which were dissolved without effect, he was declared every time the first prætor by the suffrages of all the centuries.—*Centuriis cunctis:* The prætors were chosen by the *Comitia centuriata,* as were also the consuls and censors; inferior magistrates were chosen by the *Comitia tributa:* in the last-mentioned assemblies, the majority of the votes in each tribe determined the general vote of the tribe, and a majority of tribes determined the election, in which the meanest citizen, therefore, had as much influence as the most powerful; but in the *Comitia centuriata,* instituted by king Servius Tullius, the balance of the power was put into the hands of the affluent and noble. All the citizens were divided into 193 centuries, according to a valuation of their estates, and these centuries were, according to the same rule, reduced into six classes; the first and richest class consisted of ninety-seven centuries, a majority of the whole number. If, therefore, the centuries of the first class agreed, the affair was decided; the votes of the rest were of little importance.

44 7. *Mithridate et Tigrane:* Mithridates is considered by Plutarch (*in Lucullo*) as a king, in point of talents, second only to Alexander the Great. He had expelled Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, from their respective kingdoms; and, by the extent of his territories and the number of his alliances, became one of the most powerful enemies ever opposed to Rome. At the beginning of the Mithridatic war, in which Tigranes also, king of Armenia, became involved, that prince was the most powerful sovereign in Asia. He reduced the Parthians, subdued Mesopotamia, obliged the Arabians, called Scenitæ, to quit their deserts, and ruled the kingdom of Syria.—*Alter relictus:* A mutiny in the army of Lucullus prevented that general from making use of the advantage he had acquired over Mithridates.

7. *Alter lacessitus:* Mithridates, being repeatedly defeated by Lucullus, retired to the court of Tigranes, his son-in-law. The Roman general demanded him of that king, and threatened war in case of refusal. Tigranes refused, and soon after was defeated and dispossessed of his capital, Tigranocerta. Provoked by his loss, he made great exertions to retrieve his affairs, and, in consequence of the unfortunate sedition in the Roman camp, and of the recall of Lucullus, ravaged Cappadocia, and was carrying his depredations into other provinces.

9. *Equitibus Romanis:* The Roman revenues were farmed by the knights, who were divided into several societies for this purpose. In Rome these farmers of the revenue were in much respect, but in the provinces they were often deservedly detested.

11. *Me, pro necessitudine:* The family of Cicero was of equestrian rank, and he himself was the pride and ornament of that order. 44

14. *Vestra provincia:* Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having been expelled from his kingdom by Mithridates, was restored by Sulla. Afterwards, when he died, he made the Roman people the heir of his dominions, which, therefore, were reduced into the form of a Roman province. The allied Asiatic kings at this time committed many ravages in this newly-acquired territory.

14. *Regnum Ariobarzanis:* Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, was an ally of the Romans. He was three times expelled from his kingdom, was twice restored by Lucullus, and the third time by Pompey, after that general had conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

16. *Lucullum....discedere:* Many persons in Rome, envying the talents and success of Lucullus, endeavored to persuade the people, that he had not pushed the war with vigor against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being continued in command. This circumstance, and the mutiny excited in his camp by P. Clodius, an infamous man, who was dissatisfied because more worthy men were exalted to posts of honor while he was neglected, were the causes of the recall of Lucullus. His removal was founded upon misfortune, not demerit.

17. *Huic qui successerit:* Glabrio, the consul, a man of inferior talents, succeeded him.

18. *Unum:* Pompey, who was at this time terminating the piratic war.

35. *Appetentes gloriæ:* The love of their country and an ardent desire of martial glory were the ruling passions of the Romans in the early ages of the republic. Such had been their military success, that to have permitted Mithridates to murder 80,000 Roman citizens with impunity, would have been an indelible disgrace to their character.

4. *L. Murena:* Murena was a lieutenant under Sulla, in whose ab- 45
sence he defeated the king of Pontus.

9. *Sullam:* The successes of the Marian faction induced Sulla to make peace with Mithridates, and lead his army to Rome. Sulla made one treaty with Mithridates, Murena another; this therefore was the third Mithridatic war.

14. *Bosporanis:* The inhabitants of the Thracian Bosphorus, a country between the Palus Mæotis and Euxine sea.

15. *In Hispaniam legatos:* Mithridates had been persuaded by L. Fannius and L. Magius, two Roman fugitives, to send them ambassadors to Sertorius, the head of the Marian party, who successfully conducted a war in Spain against the partisans of Sulla, the dictator, and had defeated many Roman generals. Fannius and Magius compared Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, and said nothing could resist so great commanders.—*Ecbatănis:* Ecbatăna was the capital of Media.—*Eos duces:* Of the senators who were proscribed by Sulla, and who had retired to the camp of Sertorius, the latter general had formed a senate, and, imitating the government of the republic, out of his senate chose his quæstors, lieutenants, and other military officers.

16. *Duobus in locis:* In Asia with Mithridates, and in Spain with Sertorius. Mithridates and Sertorius had formed a confederacy.

22. *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio:* This savors more of flattery than of truth. It is a well-known fact, that by the good fortune only of Pompey, not by his *divino consilio ac singulari virtute*, the army of

45 Sertorius was dispersed. The dispersion of his forces was the consequence of his death, and he was slain, not by means of the military talents of Pompey, which he easily baffled, but by the infamous conspiracy of his pretended friends, Perpenna and Antonius, who basely assassinated him at an entertainment, to which they had invited him. Cicero, it has been supposed, was induced by venal motives to extol Pompey in this oration; the defence which he makes will be considered at the close of it.

25. *Virtuti....fortunæ:* The success of Lucullus was to be attributed to his talents; the mutiny in his camp, the tales of calumny circulated concerning him, and the consequences of both, to his misfortune.

36. *Corinthum....exstinctum:* The Corinthians, having insulted the Roman commissioners, who had been sent into Greece to terminate the quarrels existing between the parties confederated by the Achæan league, were attacked by the consul Memmius, and, being defeated, abandoned their city, which the Roman general afterwards burned.

36. *Totius Græciæ lumen:* Corinth perhaps did not deserve so great praise; a sufficiently great compliment was paid to it, when it was called a second Athens.

38. *Legatum:* Mithridates seized Cappadocia contrary to the commands of the Roman generals in Asia; they therefore declared war against him. Mithridates successively conquered each of them, and supposing that Aquilius was the author of the war, mounted him upon an ass, and made him travel with the army through various parts of Asia, and frequently proclaim that he was Mânius Aquilius, the Roman proconsul. At last he caused him to be put to death at Pergamus, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of Roman avidity.

46 10. *Alium:* The consul Glabrio.

12. *Unum virum:* Pompey.

15. *Maritimum bellum:* The pirates of Cilicia had not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also had intercepted their provisions, and impeded Roman generals. War was declared against them, and Pompey, being appointed to the command by the Gabinian law, which conferred upon him extensive authority, successfully terminated it. Mithridates had assisted the pirates, but the arrival of Pompey induced him to desert them.

16. *Liberè loqui non licet:* Through fear of offending the Romans.

21. *Tamen ipsorum adventus:* Several Roman generals had been guilty of great extortion.

26. *Propter socios:* The historical facts to which Cicero refers are; in the year of Rome 562, the Ætolians, having raised some commotions in Greece against the allies of Rome, and invited to their assistance Antiochus, king of Syria, were declared enemies of the republic, and were reduced to the necessity of begging a peace. Ten years before this time, the Romans declared war against Philip, king of Macedon, because he had attacked the Athenians, the allies of the republic. In the 489th year of Rome, some Italian soldiers, who were in possession of Messina, were attacked by the Carthaginians; they applied to Rome for assistance, and the republic immediately declared war against their enemies.

31. *Vectigalia:* There were three kinds of tribute; one imposed equally upon all persons; another according to the valuation of their estates; and a third, which was extraordinary, and demanded only in cases of necessity. The other taxes were also of three kinds, *porto-*

rium, *decumæ*, and *scriptura*. *Portorium* was money paid at the ports 46
for goods imported and exported; *decumæ*, tithes, were the tenth part of corn, and the fifth part of other fruits, which were exacted from those who tilled the public lands, either in Italy or without it; *scriptura* was the tax paid from public pastures and woods, so called, because those, who wished to feed their cattle there, *subscribed* their names before the farmer of it, and paid a certain sum for each beast.

9. *Publicani:* The taxes were let publicly by the censors at Rome. 47
Those who farmed them were called *publicani*.

9. *In salinis:* There was for a long time a tax upon salt. In the second year after the expulsion of Tarquin, it was ordained, that salt should not be sold by private persons, but should be furnished at a lower rate by the public. A new tax was imposed on salt in the second Punic war, but this tax was also dropped, although it is uncertain at what time. Instead of *salinis*, many editions have substituted *salictis*, the editors of which suppose, that, as we do not read that in any period of the Roman history the duty upon salt was imposed upon Asia or any other province, Cicero here refers to the pasture grounds, which abounded with groves of willows.

17. *Ad multorum bona civium:* The knights, who were the farmers of the revenue, and many Roman citizens, who were concerned in mercantile negotiations, had much wealth in this province, of which the war might perhaps deprive them.

38. *Romæ....fidem concidisse:* In the murder of the Romans in Asia, which Mithridates had ordered in the beginning of the first Mithridatic war, many farmers of the revenue were killed, and their estates were confiscated. Their creditors in Rome, therefore, became unable to support their credit.

43. *Quæ in foro versatur:* The Forum was surrounded with shops, which were chiefly occupied by bankers.

14. *Copias:* According to Plutarch, in the army of Mithridates 48
there were 120,000 foot and 16,000 horse.

16. *Cyzicenorum:* Cyzĭcum was an important city, and one of the keys of Asia. It was besieged by Mithridates, when Lucullus arrived; by intercepting the provisions and conquering the detachments of the royal army, the Roman general obliged the king to raise the siege with great loss.

19. *Classem magnam:* Mithridates, not discouraged by his ill success, sent a fleet to support the revolt, which Spartăcus had excited in Italy, and gave the command of it to two of his own officers, and M. Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to him with the title of proconsul. Lucullus sailed in quest of this fleet, found it in the road of Lemnos, and destroyed the whole, thirty-two ships of war, and a great number of transports.

22. *Multis prœliis:* At the river Rhyndăcus, at the river Granīcus, and at sea, in which engagements many of the forces of Mithridates were killed, and many taken prisoners.

23. *Pontum:* Lucullus invaded Pontus, and took most of its cities.

24. *Sinopen atque Amisum:* Sinŏpe, the capital of Pontus, was a city on the borders of the Euxine sea, and the birth-place of Mithridates; Amīsus was situated on the confines of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 130 miles distant from Sinŏpe.

26. *Cappadociæ:* Mithridates, having expelled Nicomēdes, king of Cappadocia, had taken possession of his kingdom.

27. *Regno patrio atque avito:* Mithridates, by right of his birth, reigned over Pontus and many nations in its vicinity.

48 28. *Ad aliosque reges:* To Tigrānes, his son-in-law, king of Armenia, and to the king of the Parthians.

38. *Medea:* Medēa, daughter of the king of Colchis, having assisted Jason and the Argonauts in acquiring the Golden Fleece, fled with him, and fearing Æētes, her father, would overtake her, cut her brother Absyrtus in pieces, and strewed them in the way to check the pursuit. In a similar manner, Mithridates, as Cicero says, scattered his treasures before the army of Lucullus, and was thus enabled to escape.

49 6. *Plures etiam gentes:* The army of Tigranes was composed of Armenians, Gordyænians, Medes, Adiabenians, led by their kings; Arabians from the country between Babylon and the Persian gulf; Albanians and Iberians from the coasts of the Caspian sea; and several free nations and Nomădes (Tartars) from the neighborhood of the Araxes. The forces of Tigranes consisted of 20,000 archers and slingers; 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which might be said to be cased in iron; 150,000 infantry, and 35,000 pioneers and other laborers. The Roman army, however, not a twentieth part of the number of the troops of the king of Armenia, conquered them, and took his capital, Tigranocerta.

11. *Fani locupletissimi:* Cicero refers to a famous temple of Bellōna, at Comāna, which was plundered by Murēna, Sulla's lieutenant.

15. *Nimiâ longinquitate locorum:* After the taking of Tigranocerta, Lucullus intended to continue his march to Artaxăta, the former capital of Armenia, but, as it was distant many days' march to the north, and as the winter was advancing, with snowy and tempestuous weather, the soldiers, fatigued by the severities of the campaign, refused to follow him. The mutiny in the army of Lucullus has been attributed to his pride and avarice; but, though those faults of the general may have produced bad consequences, the real cause of the sedition was the intrigues of the disappointed and infamous Clodius.

17. *Hĭc jam plura non dicam:* As the dispute concerning the merit and demerit of Lucullus was very warm in Rome between his friends and enemies, Cicero very prudently avoids offending either party.

21. *Multorum regum et nationum:* The kings and nations, who assisted Tigranes, gave assistance also to Mithridates, who at this time was collecting an army.

31. *Victorem, impetum:* He defeated Fabius Adrianus in Pontus, whom Lucullus had left there, and afterwards routed the army of the rash lieutenant, Triarius.

33. *Nostram calamitatem:* It was the rashness of Triarius, which caused this calamity. Flattered by the prospect of the glory he should acquire by conquering in the absence of his general, he fought with the king of Pontus, and was so totally defeated, that not one of his army would have escaped, had not Mithridates received a wound, which induced his generals to check the pursuit. This was the most severe defeat which the Romans experienced in all their wars against Mithridates; seven thousand Romans remained dead upon the field of battle. "Cicero," says a celebrated Roman historian, "was induced to say, that the Roman general received only from public rumor the news of Triarius's defeat, not from a regard to truth, but that he might flatter Pompey at the expense of Lucullus."

38. *Veteri exemplo:* These words, it has been said, wore the semblance of patriotism, under which the enemies of Lucullus concealed their envy and malignity. It is acknowledged, that Lucullus had

been seven years in command; but Pompey possessed military command for a longer time, and with as great authority. If, therefore, the *vetus exemplum* required the removal of the former, it would certainly prohibit the elevation of the latter. 49

40. *Dimisit....tradidit:* The calumnious tales of the enemies of Lucullus had such an effect upon the people, that they passed a decree, "that the oldest of his troops, especially the Fimbrian legions, should be discharged, and that he should be succeeded in the command of the war by Glabrio, the consul."

16. *Ad patris exercitum:* His father was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in 50
whose army he served, when he was but seventeen years of age.

17. *Extremâ pueritiâ miles....adolescentiâ....imperator:* The age of man was divided into three parts by the Romans. They were *pueri* until they were seventeen years old; from that time to their forty-sixth year they were *juvenes;* afterwards they were *senes.* The youth of Pompey, when he first entered his father's army, has already been mentioned. At the age of twenty-three, before he was admitted into the senate, he was appointed by Sulla to the command of an army, and sent into Celtiberia.

19. *Hoste....inimico:* These words are distinguished thus by Merouille: those were properly called *hostes*, against whom the Romans declared war by the *feciales*, who were sacred persons employed in declaring war and making peace; *inimici* were those with whom individuals had private quarrels.

24. *Triumphis:* He had triumphed three times, once for his victories in Africa, once for those in Europe, once for those in Asia.

26. *Civile:* Between Cinna and Sulla; *Africanum*, against Cneius Domitius and a king of Numidia, for his victories over whom, he was called *Pompeius Magnus* by Sulla; *Transalpinum*, against the inhabitants of the Alps and of the countries beyond those mountains, who opposed his passage into Spain to attack Sertorius; *Hispaniense*, against Sertorius in Spain, whose army consisted chiefly of warlike barbarians; *servile*, against Spartăcus, Crixus, and Œnomăus, their slaves and gladiators; *navale bellum*, against the pirates.

28. *Diversa genera....hostium:* He fought against kings, exiles, proscribed persons, pirates, and slaves.

8. *Omnes oræ:* The pirates committed such extensive depredations, 51
that 10,000 of the slaves they captured were brought to Delos at once, and sold the same day.

21. *Multas....urbes:* The pirates formed armies, made descents, surprised cities that were not fortified, by assault or by sieges took others that were in a condition of defence, and extended their ravages along all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, the only sea at that time navigated.

27. *Brundisio:* Brundisium, or Brundusium, was an Italian seaport, from which the Romans passed into Greece.

29. *Legati....duodecim secures:* Ambassadors and two Roman prætors were seized by the pirates in some of their excursions; the prætors had two axes carried before them in the city, six in the provinces; hence *duodecim secures* imply two prætors.

32. *Colophonem aut Samum:* Cities of Ionia; besides these, the pirates had taken above 400 cities, and plundered thirteen of the richest temples in the world.

34. *Quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis:* Such command of the various harbors in the Mediterranean sea did the pirates possess, that no grain could be brought to Rome from Asia, Africa, Sicily, or Sardinia.

51 36. *Caietæ:* A seaport in Campania.

37. *Prætore:* This prætor probably was Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator, and father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterwards defeated by the pirates near Crete.

37. *Miseno:* Misènum, a promontory in Italy. Plutarch tells us, that the pirates carried the daughter of Marcus Antonius, the prætor mentioned in the preceding note, from his house in this place.

39. *Ostiense incommodum:* Ostia was a city, situated at the mouth of the Tiber, the river, upon the banks of which the city of Rome was built; the pirates seized it, and kept possession of it for some time.

52 3. *Intra Oceani ostium:* That is, within the Mediterranean sea. The straits of Gibraltar were the *ostium Oceani*, through which a strong current flows from the Atlantic ocean into the Mediterranean sea. Pompey had subdued all the pirates.

8. *Belli impetus:* The fleet of Pompey.

9. *Siciliam:* Sicily was called the granary of the republic, from the quantity of corn annually sent to Rome. The Gabinian law conferred on the conductor of the war against the pirates a command, for three years, over the whole Mediterranean, and all the provinces on its coasts, as far as fifty miles within land. He had power to elect from the senators fifteen lieutenants, to take money at discretion from the public treasury, and from the farmers of the revenue, to raise a fleet of 200 sail, and to enlist both sailors and soldiers, as many as he should judge necessary. Such extensive authority, and the military talents of Pompey, terminated the piratic war.

13. *Duabus Hispaniis:* The two Spains were separated by the river Iber. Cisalpine Gaul was between the Alps and the river Rubicon.

15. *Maria:* Tuscan and Adriatic.

18. *Ciliciam:* The pirates had formed a kind of commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, by reason of the rocks and shoals that lined the coasts.

21. *Cretensibus:* The island of Crete was another receptacle of the pirates.

21. *Legatos deprecatoresque:* Merouille says, the Cretans, fearing that, if Metellus should conquer the island, he would put them all to death, sent ambassadors to Pompey, offering to surrender themselves to him, who, they thought, would be more mild to them; Pompey, therefore, that he might deprive Metellus of the glory of the victory, sent his lieutenant Octavius to Metellus with orders to cease hostilities; which, says Merouille, was base in Pompey, though Cicero artfully turned it to his praise.

40. *Centuriatus:* The office of centurion, and other military commands, which ought to be bestowed upon merit, were often bought and sold in the camps of venal generals.

43. *Propter cupiditatem provinciæ:* Great corruption was prevalent in the administrations of the provinces in the latter ages of the republic. So much extortion was generally practised, that the government of a rich province was an object of intrigue and bribery. The provinces were selected by the senate, and distributed to the consuls and prætors, sometimes by lot, sometimes by the senate, and sometimes by the tribunes of the people, who were often bribed largely on such occasions.

44. *Aut....in quæstu reliquerit:* It seems from this passage that public money at Rome was sometimes lent at interest for private emolument.

1. *Admurmuratio:* This "whispering" of the people probably was applying to particular individuals the allusions they thought Cicero was making; he, however, disclaims alluding to any one. 53

33. *Signa, et tabulas:* Statues, paintings, etc., of which generals often robbed the provinces.

3. *Facilitate:* "Affability." 54

24. *Tanta et tam præclara judicia:* They had decreed him a triumph, while he was only a knight; sent him, while quæstor, to Spain, against Sertorius; and declared him consul, before he had held the other magistracies.

28. *Ad commune omnium gentium bellum:* Pirates are considered by the law of nations as the enemies of mankind.

38. *Calamitate:* The defeat of Triarius.

13. *Legatum:* Although Mithridates, after the assassination of Sertorius, with whom he had entered into an alliance, sent an ambassador to Pompey in Spain, yet the army of Sertorius considered him rather as a spy than an ambassador. 55

24. *Maximo, etc.:* Fabius Maximus was five times consul, and once dictator; he conquered Hannibal by delay, by avoiding engagements. Marcellus was also five times consul; he subdued the Gauls, defeated the army of Hannibal at Nola, and gained many other victories. Scipio Africanus was twice consul; he defeated the Africans, and obliged Hannibal to return to Carthage. Marius was seven times consul; he conquered Jugurtha, the Teutŏnes, Ambrōnes, and Cimbri.

33. *Aut invisa:* It would have been offensive and ungrateful to the gods, to have said that Pompey overruled chance, and made fortune obey his commands.

38. *Venti:* Had not the winds favored him, he could not have conquered, with so much celerity, the pirates, who were scattered over every part of the Mediterranean.

13. *In iis ipsis locis:* Pompey at this time was in Asia, engaged in settling some small remains of the piratic war. He had a flourishing army with him, and could easily take possession of the forces in the neighboring provinces. 56

19. *Catulus:* Of Catulus the following anecdote is told. After he had alleged, that unusual grants of exorbitant power were the causes of all the miseries the republic had suffered from the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, and that they were pernicious, and contrary to the constitution of Rome, he told the people they were too fond of Pompey, and asked them, "Should you unfortunately lose him, in whom would you place your confidence?" "In you, Catulus," they all cried out with one voice. Catulus was of consular rank, and popular.

21. *Hortensius:* Hortensius began very early to make a figure at the bar; he was only nineteen years of age when he pleaded his first cause, with great eloquence and excellence. "Like a statue of Phidias," says Cicero, "the instant he was seen, the same instant he was admired." He charmed the eye no less by his action than the ear by the harmony of his voice and the music of his periods. "He reigned absolute in the Forum," says Dr. Middleton, "when Cicero first entered it, and as his superior fame was the chief spur of Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of

56 equal contest and emulation; but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by attaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and gave way to the charms of ease and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him, till he was forced, at last, by the general voice of the city, to yield the post of honor to Cicero."

30. *Omnia tribuenda:* The power that would be delegated to Pompey by this law of Manilius, would be almost unbounded.

35. *A. Gabinium:* The power conferred on Pompey by the Gabinian law, which appointed him to the command in the piratic war, Hortensius thought exorbitant, and therefore opposed the law, which, although it happened to be attended rather with fortunate than unlucky consequences, was a bad precedent.

57 5. *Atheniensium:* Athens retained the sovereignty of the seas nearly seventy years.

7. *Carthaginiensium:* Carthage, before it was conquered by the Romans, was a great commercial city.

8. *Ad nostram memoriam:* The island of Rhodes was still celebrated for its attention to naval discipline.

15. *Navalibus pugnis....utilitatis, etc.:* The Romans formerly had been celebrated for their naval victories over the Carthaginian and other admirals; lately the pirates had not only intercepted their provisions, but taken and insulted their magistrates; Pompey, armed by the Gabinian law with the most extensive power, had reduced these Asiatic buccaniers and marauders. These facts seem to prove, that before Pompey took command of the war against the pirates, the naval skill of the Romans had degenerated, and that he alone was able to terminate successfully so dangerous a war; but the truth is, the Romans had not degenerated, nor was Pompey the only man who could put an honorable end to the war. The Romans, engaged in contentions of more importance, did not notice the commencement of the piratic war, till it became threatening, and affected them; and there were many Roman senators, who, had they been armed with the authority of the Gabinian law, would as soon have terminated the opposition of these lawless freebooters.

17. *Antiochum regem:* In the war with Antiŏchus the Great, the Romans twice defeated his fleet under Polyxenĭdas, his admiral.—*Persenque superârunt:* There is no mention in Roman history of a sea-fight with Perses; after the battle of Pydna, in which he was defeated by Paulus Æmilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrăce, and soon afterwards surrendered himself to the prætor Octavius, who was sent with a fleet to the island by the consul. If, as Livy says, Octavius had a naval triumph over king Perses, it must have been decreed to him for receiving Perses as a prisoner, not for fighting him.

28. *Appiâ jam viâ carebamus:* The *Appia via* was the first road the Romans paved; it was named from Appius Claudius the censor, who first made it. At first it extended only to Capua, but was afterwards continued to Brundusium. It was called *Regina Viarum.* It was paved with the hardest flint, so firmly, that, in several places, it remains entire to this day, above 2000 years; and was so broad that two carriages might pass each other. The stones were of different sizes; but so artfully joined, that they appeared but one stone. This road had been infested by the pirates.

42. *Ne legaretur A. Gabinius:* It is said by Roman historians, that 57
the only motive, which induced Gabinius to publish his law in favor of Pompey, was the desire of being chosen one of his lieutenants. Pompey solicited this, but the people refused it; and, although Cicero here says, that this refusal appeared to him a great indignity, we must doubt concerning his sincerity, since, in another oration (*Post Reditum in Senatu*), he says, that Gabinius was so necessitous and so profligate at this time, that, if he had not passed this law, he must have turned pirate himself.

5. *An C. Falcidius, etc.:* Tribunes could not be lieutenants till the 58
year after their tribuneship had expired, and then only to those generals who had been appointed by means of their tribuneship. Under these circumstances, it was customary to advance the tribunes to the lieutenancies.

16. *Præter intercessionem:* It was in the power of any tribune to stop the proceedings of any assembly of the people by his intercession, that is, by pronouncing the solemn word *Veto*.

19. *Unus A. Gabinius....comes Cn. Pompeio:* It has been said, we must not believe Cicero sincere in all the opinions he advances in his orations; he was so much of a statesman and lawyer, as sometimes, for a politic purpose, or a client's advantage, to express a belief which he did not entertain. See Note, page 57, line 42, and the last note to this oration.

42. *Scipione. ..Mario:* Cicero here apologizes for the unusual authority conferred on Pompey, by the examples of Scipio and Marius. Scipio Æmilianus was twice elected consul at an illegal age, and in his consulships destroyed Carthage in Africa, and Numantia in Spain. Marius was elected seven times consul, which elections were unprecedented. He conquered Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutŏnes.

9. *A senatorio gradu ætas longè abesset:* It is said by Dr Alexan- 59
der Adam, that in the time of Cicero, the usual age of being chosen a senator seems to have been thirty-one; of Pompey, Plutarch relates, that he could have been received into the senate before that age, but that he refused it; his vain-glory induced him to think it a greater honor to triumph, while he was only knight.

14. *Triumphare:* It is related, that when Pompey had defeated Domitius Ænobarbus and Hiarbas, king of one part of Numidia, and returned to Rome, he demanded a triumph of Sulla, at that time dictator. Being refused, he said it would be best for Sulla to consider, "that the rising had more worshippers than the setting sun." Sulla did not hear this; but being told of it, he was struck with the boldness of the expression, and instantly said, "Let him triumph, let him triumph."

29. *Iterum:* Pompey had a second triumph, for his victory over the remains of Sertorius's army.

10. *Servilius:* After the defeat of the prætor Antonius, P. Servilius 61
was sent against the pirates. Having defeated them, taken many of their cities, and subdued the nation of the Isauri, he acquired a triumph and the surname of *Isauricus*. He had spoken, before Cicero, in favor of the law.

12. *C. Curio....Lentulus....Cassius:* Curio was consul with Cn. Octavius, Lentulus with Lucullus; Cassius was a particular friend of Cicero.

22. *Maneas in sententiâ:* The law of Manilius was unpopular with many good men, because it conferred too much power upon an indi-

61 vidual, and because it would deprive Lucullus of the glory of terminating the war.

32. *Huic loco temploque*: There were many temples round the Forum, and Livy says, the Rostra also was called a temple.

41. *Laboriosissimâ ratione vitæ:* In early life Cicero had applied himself very industriously to the business of the bar. At the time he delivered this oration, he was prætor, as, a few lines above, he insinuates.

62 8. Notwithstanding Cicero, at the close of his oration, declares that he has been induced to support the Manilian law only by the disinterested motives of patriotism, many modern authors will not believe him. We will quote the remarks of these critics, premising that the eloquence of Cicero contributed to the enaction of the law. The elegant writer of the "Observations on the Life and Writings of Cicero," speaking of Cicero and those who spoke in favor of the Manilian law, says, "They had not the least pretence of public necessity to justify it. ....But Lucullus, who commanded in Asia, had overcome Mithridates in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the war, as he was, whom they appointed to be his successor. With an eloquence worthy of a better cause, he [Cicero] most artfully reflected on Lucullus, whose reputation as well as authority was to be made a sacrifice to the envy of Pompey; then he proceeded to descant upon Pompey's character, which he set off with all the ornaments of rhetoric; attributing to him the whole success, not only of the African, Spanish, and piratic wars, but even of that against the slaves, the honor of which was solely due to Crassus. Thus, by cruelly injuring two of the greatest generals that were in the commonwealth, by a most servile flattery of the man who was manifestly overturning all its liberties, he brought the people to consent to the Manilian law; which, had a regard to the interest of his country been his constant principle, he ought to have opposed as violently as he afterwards did the Agrarian law, or any other attempt against the safety and freedom of the state." Monsieur Crevier, the continuator of Rollin's Roman history, speaking of the Manilian law, says, "We have the discourse which Cicero pronounced on this occasion. It is more to his honor as an orator, than as a patriot, or a commonwealth's man. ....But he had the consulship nearly in view, and it behoved him therefore to gain the people's favor, and make sure of the friendship of Pompey." The learned author of "The Divine Legation of Moses," etc., while considering the character of Cicero, says, in the third section of the third book, "The several and various characters he sustained in his life and writings, habituated him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as an orator, a statesman, a philosopher, characters all equally personated; and no one more the real man than the other, but each of them taken up and laid down for the occasion. This appears from the numerous inconsistencies found in him throughout the course of his sustaining them." Having mentioned an instance in which the philosopher confuted the statesman, the author adds, "as in another instance the statesman seems to have got the better of the philosopher. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philosophic dissertation; but, in his oration for Murēna, he ridicules those paradoxes in the freest manner. ....Nor under one and the same character, or at one and the same time, is he more consistent. ....In a word, he laughed at the opinions of state, when he was amongst philosophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philosophers, when he was cajoling

an assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn 62
among his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worst part of the story. He hath given us no mark to distinguish his meaning; for in his *Academic Questions*, he is ready to swear he always speaks what he thinks; *Jurarem per Jovem Deosque Penates, me et ardere studio veri reperiendi, et ea sentire, quæ dicerem;* yet in his treatise *De Naturâ Deorum*, he has strangely changed his tone; *Qui autem requirunt, quid quâque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosiùs id faciunt, quàm necesse est.*" The latter part of this last quotation invalidates the defence which Dr. Middleton, Cicero's English historian and panegyrist, makes against the charges of flattery and selfish motives, as that author offers no other proof of his disinterestedness, than his own declaration in the clóse of the oration. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Cicero's letters *Ad Familiares*, still further weakens his pretensions to sincerity. He says, "Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere." We would mention the authority also of Hooke, the Roman historian, who is more severe upon Cicero, than any author we have quoted, did we not believe he traduced the characters of most of the great men of Rome to elevate that of Julius Cæsar. But more quotations are unnecessary. We have been induced to select those already expressed, not from any desire to detract praise from Cicero's character, of which we still have a high opinion, but from a wish to prevent the youth, who shall study these orations, from forming, by their perusal of them, erroneous ideas of the characters of distinguished Roman citizens. We therefore will not hesitate to declare our opinion, that in this oration Cicero extols the praises of Pompey too high, and that he depreciates the merit of Lucullus too much. For the first opinion we have the authority of Cicero himself, who, in a future period of his life, confessed he had pronounced praises on Pompey, which he did not deserve; and for the last, we have the authority of Plutarch, who says Lucullus possessed great qualities, courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the love of justice.

THE ORATION FOR M. MARCELLUS.

INTRODUCTION.

There existed a friendship between Cicero and the family of the Marcelli; but of Marcus Marcellus, Cicero was a particular friend. Marcellus was no less eminent on account of his birth, than for the rank he held in the republic; his courage and conduct were equally conspicuous, and the testimonies of historians unite in characterizing him as incapable of meanness or fear. During his consulship, he opposed Cæsar, and avowed his intentions to ruin him. After the bat-

tle of Pharsalia, in which Cæsar conquered Pompey and his adherents, he retired to Mitylēne, where he seemed resolved to spend the remainder of his life in philosophic retirement, and make the pursuits of literature his only employment. This resolution, after many attempts, was overcome by the urgent requests of his friends. The letters of his brother Caius and Cicero induced him to consent, that application might be made to Cæsar for permission to return to Rome. In one of the meetings of the senate, therefore, when the dictator had taken his seat, Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, first mentioned the return of Marcellus. The brother of the illustrious exile immediately threw himself at the feet of Cæsar, and requested of him the desired favor; and all the senators, at the same time, rising from their seats, urged the request, and entreated him to restore to their body one of its most distinguished and most valuable members. Cæsar at first assumed severity, and complained of the resentment Marcellus had ever shown to him. But when he had made the senators fear a denial, he unexpectedly added, that whatever reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the man for whose return they sued, he could not oppose the unanimous desire of the senate. Having said this, notwithstanding he saw the whole senate concurrent in the petition, he called for the particular opinion of every senator; a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and when the house was divided; "but," says Dr. Middleton, "he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace, and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim." Cicero experienced much joy at the prospect of his friend's return; he fancied he saw the image of the old republic reviving; and, after other senators had expressed their opinions, he pronounced, in the excited feelings of the moment, the following beautiful oration, which is so much known, and so universally admired, and "which," says Cicero's English historian, "though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity." It was pronounced in the 707th year of Rome, and in the 61st of Cicero's age.

SYNOPSIS.

Analysis Exordii.

Reddit

Attentos:
- expositis silentii causis,
  - dolore. 1.
  - verecundiâ. 1.
- et locutionis:
  - Cæsaris mansuetudine, et clementiâ. 1.
  - moderatione, et sapientiâ. 1.

Benevolos:
- laude Cæsaris. 1.
- laude Marcelli. 1.

Dociles:
- propositione dicendorum. 1.

Orationis Pars Prior.

- Laudat Cæsaris fortitudinem: quâ
  - superavit homines,
    - contentionum magnitudine. 2.
    - numero prœliorum. 2.
    - varietate regionum. 2.
    - celeritate conficiendi. 2.
    - dissimilitudine bellorum. 2.
  - domuit gentes,
    - immanitate barbaras. 3.
    - multitudine innumerabiles. 3.
    - locis infinitas. 3.
    - omni copiarum genere abundantes 3.
- clementiam: quâ
  - gloriam habet sibi propriam,
    - non centurioni, aut præfecto. 3
    - non cohorti, aut turmis. 3.
    - non ipsi fortunæ. 3.
  - Deo fit similis. 3.
  - hominibus redditur amabilis. 3.
  - senatui affert lætitiam. 3.
  - posteris evadit illustris. 4.
  - seipso, et victoriâ est major. 4.
  - omnibus quietis et tranquillitatis spem ostendit. 5.
- Pompeio Cæsarem præfert,
  - quòd Cæsar
    - pacem petierit. 5.
    - pacis cupidos servaverit. 5.
    - victis pepercerit. 5.
  - quòd Pompeius
    - esset futurus iratior. 6.
    - minas etiam otiosis intentaret. 6.
- et hortatur ad perseverantiam,
  - cùm id sit liberalis animi 6.
  - et sapientis 6.

Pars Altera.

Duo Cæsaris dicta confutat.

- I. Sibi parari insidias,
  - I. Cicero suspicionem auget. 7.
  - II. Eam diluit: nam
    - nec parantur insidiæ a Cæsarianis. 7.
    - nec a Pompeianis: cùm
      - aut perierint. 7.
      - aut amici sint. 7.
      - et a salute Cæsaris pendeant. 7.
  - III. Cæsarem hortatur, ut sibi caveat:
    - ad constituenda judicia. 8.
    - revocandam fidem. 8.
    - comprimendas libidines. 8.
    - curandam propagationem sobolis 8.

- **II. Satis se sibi vixisse, et gloriæ:**
  - **I. Id negat: quia**
    - non sibi vivit, sed reipublicæ. 8.
    - gloria non erit perfecta, nisi remp. constituat. 9.
    - sola restabit admiratio
      - imperiorum. 9.
      - provinciarum. 9.
      - victoriarum. 9.
      - triumphorum. 9.
    - posteri multi facta ejus improbabunt [10.
  - **II. Gloriam ejus prædicat:**
    - ob clementiam. 10.
    - etiam erga eos, quibus iratus fuerat. 10.
  - **III. Ei securitatem pollicetur:**
    - ob excubias, et custodias. 10.
    - ob laterum et corporum oppositus. 10.

Peroratio.

- **Gratias agit Cæsari,**
  - nomine senatorum omnium. 11.
  - et suo præsertim. 11.
- **Amorem suum erga Marcellum testatur:**
  - dolore quamdiu abfuit Marcellus. 11.
  - gaudio, cùm a Cæsare revocatus est. 11.

Page. Line.

62 9. *Diuturni silentii:* In a letter to Servius Sulpicius, proconsul in Greece, Cicero, mentioning the petition for Marcellus's return, writes, " What the senate did was this; upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius having thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, they all rose up, and went in a supplicating manner towards Cæsar; in short, this day's work appeared so decent, that I could not help fancying I saw the image of the old republic reviving. When all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had returned thanks to Cæsar, excepting Volcatius (for he declared that he would not have done it, though he had been in the place of Marcellus), I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself to observe an eternal silence, not through any laziness, but the loss of my former dignity; but Cæsar's greatness of mind and the laudable zeal of the senate overcame my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to Cæsar in a long speech, and have deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet, which was my only comfort in these unhappy times; but since I have hitherto avoided giving offence (and, if I had always continued silent, he would have interpreted it perhaps as a proof of my believing the republic to be ruined), I shall speak for the future not often, or rather very seldom; so as to manage at the same time both his favor and my own leisure for study."

21. *In quâ ego fuissem:* Marcellus and Cicero were of the Pompeian party; after the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero accepted pardon of the conqueror; the high spirit of Marcellus and the ancient glory of his house would not permit him to receive any favors from a master. He retired to Mitylēne.

24. *Æmulo atque imitatore:* Marcellus was famous for his forensic 62
talents, and, of all the orators of his time, seems to have approached nearest to Cicero in the character of a complete speaker.

31. *Offensionibus:* While Marcellus was consul, he endeavored to supersede Cæsar in the command of Gaul; he afterwards endeavored to get Cæsar proclaimed *Enemy to his country;* in a public speech he called Cæsar *Robber;* and, during the civil war, fought against Cæsar. These, says Guthrie, with some others of smaller consequence, were the offences of Marcellus.

33. *Suspicionibus:* Cæsar had entertained suspicions, that Marcellus intended to murder him.

1. *Fructum....vitæ....hodierno die:* It should be remembered, that, 63
before Cicero had risen to address Cæsar, the whole senate had paid the tribute due to the merit of Marcellus, by rising, and warmly urging the request made for his return.

8. *Nobilitate:* The family of the Marcelli was of plebeian original, but, by the hereditary merit of its individuals, had become noble. Those whose ancestors or themselves had borne any *Curule* magistracy, that is, the consulship, the prætorship, the censorship, or the office of Curule Ædile, was called *nobiles;* and of the family of the Marcelli six had been consuls, of whom one was honored with the consulship five times, and another three.

14. *Pace:* "Pardon," or "permission."

20. *Numero præliorum:* Pliny informs us, that Cæsar had fought fifty pitched battles, and had slain 1,192,000 men. If the civil wars are added to the account, says a commentator, this ambitious monster (Cæsar) must have made greater desolation in the world, than any tyrant, perhaps, that ever lived.—*Varietate regionum:* Cæsar had carried on war in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Egypt, Germany, Asia, Africa and Greece. He conquered Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pharnâces, the son of Mithridates, in Pontus; Scipio and Juba in Africa; and in Spain the sons of Pompey.—*Celeritate conficiendi:* Such was the rapidity with which Cæsar made some of his conquests, that, in describing one of them, he said, *Veni, vidi, vici:* "I came, I saw, I conquered."

34. *Hujus gloriæ:* The glory of pardoning a man whom he supposed an enemy to him.

37. *Centurio....præfectus, etc.:* The Roman army was formed into legions; each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. There were also 300 cavalry usually joined to each legion. These were divided into ten *turmæ*, or troops, and each *turma* into three *decuriæ*, or bodies of ten men. The *centuriones* were the officers who commanded the centuries; the *præfecti* were appointed to command the allies, and seem to have had powers similar to those of the legionary tribunes, the number of whom was six in each legion, each of whom had under his command a thousand men.

43. *Gentes....barbaras:* Gauls, Britons, Germans, Africans, and Egyptians.

44. *Innumerabiles:* It is said that Cæsar conquered 400 different nations in Gaul; but these nations probably were but petty tribes, like those of the savages of this country.

8. *Simillimum Deo judico:* Cicero has been accused of flattery and 64
insincerity in this oration, as well as in that upon the Manilian law. The only defence and apology we shall offer is extracted from the writings of his greatest panegyrist. "It should be remembered,"

64 says Dr. Middleton, "that he was delivering a speech of thanks, no only for himself, but in the name and at the request of the senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the republic; of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery." Of this defence every one will form his own opinion.

27. *C. Marcelli:* The brother of Marcus Marcellus.

33. *Gratulationibus:* In his *Commentaries*, Cæsar informs us, that twenty-five days of congratulation were decreed to him for his successes in Gaul, and we are told by Dio, that after his civil wars forty days more were for like purposes decreed to him. But the day here spoken of, says Guthrie, was to be preferred to any of these; because on it he had extended mercy and forgiveness, which are personal virtues, and cannot, like the glories of war, be shared by others.

42. *Victores bellorum civilium:* The victories of Sulla, Marius, Octavius and Cinna, were succeeded by sanguinary vengeance.

65 20. *Repudiari:* In a note upon this passage, Merouille says, Cæsar was desirous of peace, Cicero advised it, and Pompey rejected it. It may be a fact that Cæsar desired peace, but he desired only the peace of slavery, the non-resistance of tame submission to his imperious mandates; and, although the general conduct of Pompey demonstrated that he was neither a great politician nor an able general, yet, with manly indignation, he rejected peace, as a republican should have done, upon such base conditions.

26. *Prudens et sciens....ad interitum.. .voluntarium:* Cicero in this sentence assigns for the whole reason of his joining Pompey what was only one of his inducements. He really thought that Cæsar was an enemy to his country, and that the safety of the republic would be co-existent with Pompey's success. He therefore, from political principle, united himself to the Pompeian party. But he here tells Cæsar, that he sided with Pompey from private, not public motives, bound by ties of gratitude for the personal favors he had received from him, and that, cool, and conscious of his danger, he plunged, as it were, into voluntary destruction. This apology might have been successful; but it is to be regretted, that talents so great as those of Cicero confessedly were, should be employed in a service so dishonorable as that of flattery and dissimulation.

30. *Cum capitis mei periculo:* The following comment has been made upon these words. Cicero was not present at the battle of Pharsalia, nor was Cato, who staid behind also in the camp at Dyrrachium, which he commanded with fifteen cohorts, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat; upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero, as the superior in dignity; and, upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, young Pompey was so enraged, that he drew his sword. and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cato had not prevented it. Though this fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet it is probable he refers to it in this passage.

40. *Insolentiam certorum hominum:* These were Antony, L. Lentulus, L. Domitius Ænobarbus, and Curius. The compliments paid to Cæsar's clemency were in part deserved, as it is probable, that, if

Pompey's party had succeeded, victory and its consequences would have been more bloody. 65

5. *Alterius....partis:* The party of Pompey and the senate. 66

15. *Excellenti bono:* By these words Cicero means Cæsar's great clemency.

28. *Opinione....stultâ fortasse:* It would have been better to omit the word *stulta*. Cæsar might have been praised for his clemency, without hearing the republican opinions of his antagonist degraded by the appellation of *folly*.

32. *Querelam....suspicionem:* Cæsar, as has been before mentioned, suspected that Marcellus still harbored evil designs against him.

18. *Omnia, etc.:* Cicero here advises Cæsar to restore the repub- 67
lic, and correct the abuses of its constitution; and such was his address, that the advice was not displeasing to the despot; but it was improbable that an usurper so ambitious of power as was Cæsar, should observe counsels so contrary to the designs for the completion of which he had fought and slain above a million of men.

30. *Illam....vocem....satis diu....vixi:* After having complained of the animosity of Marcellus, Cæsar said, that he himself had lived long enough for either nature or glory. At this time he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

34. *Doctorum hominum:* The Stoics, who pretended to despise death.

36. *Crebrò dicere:* Suetonius relates, that Cæsar had in reality given some of his friends reason to believe, that he did not wish to live longer, and that he did not regret the ill state of his health.

7. *Vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus, etc.:* Cicero here deserves 68
credit for his address, and the freedom of his caution.

27. *Nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat:* The freedom of this remark also is to be commended. Cæsar was, without doubt, a man of great abilities; posterity will long admire his talents; but, as Cicero tells him, it ought to see something it can commend as well as admire. Insatiable ambition and goodness are seldom companions.

28. *Imperia, provincias, etc.:* Cæsar had commanded an army in Gaul, Britain, Germany and Africa. Spain, after his prætorship, and Gaul after his consulship, were the provinces assigned to him. He first built a bridge over the Rhine, over which he passed his army, and conquered the Germans. He first commanded a fleet in the Atlantic ocean, by which he carried his army into Great Britain. He conquered Ptolemy, king of Egypt, a country annually overflowed by the river Nile. For the number of his battles, see Note, page 63, line 20. Monuments and statues were erected to him after his civil wars, and honors were paid to him as to a god. As was usual after victories, he had given many presents to his soldiers, and had also entertained the people with feasts, theatrical exhibitions, &c. He had triumphed five times. "But, notwithstanding all these things," says Cicero, who appears in this part of the oration with that dignity which he always should have possessed when addressing Cæsar, "notwithstanding all these, your fame may be spread through the world, but it will never be stable, unless you strengthen this city by your counsels, and guard it by your laws." For this passage, and the succeeding remarks, Cicero deserves great credit.

42. *Ut quidam falsò putant:* Cicero here expresses his belief of the immortality of the soul.

7. *Vicit is, qui, etc.:* The moderation and clemency of Cæsar ap- 69
peared greater from contrast, as Pompey, who, during the civil war,

69 affected to imitate Sulla, was often heard to say, "Could Sulla do such a thing, and cannot I do it?" and was therefore supposed to be determined to make Sulla's victory the pattern of his own. His situation was similar to what Sulla's had been, and, as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, he was meditating the same kind of return to Italy, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies.

10. *Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt:* After the battle of Pharsalia, some of the Pompeian party laid down their arms, among whom was Cicero; others followed Cato and Scipio into Africa; but, being defeated there, their arms were taken from them.

29. *Non est stantibus omnibus necesse:* When any senator spoke, he stood up; but when he only assented to what another was saying, he continued sitting.

42. *Me....non conservato solùm, sed....ornato:* Knowing Cicero to be an amiable man, from whom he had not much to fear, but might receive great benefit, Cæsar, with apparent pleasure, pardoned and honored him, after the battle of Pharsalia.

45. Notwithstanding the honorable exertions of the senate and Marcellus's friends in his favor, that illustrious Roman did not receive much benefit from their exertions and success. As he was returning to Rome, he was basely assassinated at Athens, but by whose influence is unknown. Cæsar has been much suspected of this secret villany, but Cicero acquits him of the accusation.

THE ORATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

INTRODUCTION.

This oration, which is said to have made Cæsar tremble, was pronounced a short time after the oration for Marcellus was delivered, and was similar to that in its subject. The facts which occasioned it are as follow: Before there was an appearance of a civil war, Quintus Ligarius went into Africa in the capacity of lieutenant to the proconsul Caius Considius. So satisfactory was his conduct, in this station, that when Considius departed from the province, he determined to gratify the inclinations of the people, and confide its government to the hands of Ligarius. Ligarius, after long and unavailing refusal, unwillingly received it, and resigned it with pleasure, when Attius Varus came to take possession of it. In the mean time the war between Cæsar and Pompey commenced; and Lucius Tubero, with his son Quintus, was sent by the senate into Africa to obtain provisions. Although Ligarius and Varus were of Pompey's party, as well as Tubero, they would not receive him, nor suffer him to put his sick son on shore. Being driven to Macedonia, Tubero then joined Pompey, and there took arms against Cæsar; but, having seen his party ruined at the battle of Pharsalia, he abandoned his unsuccessful general, united himself to Cæsar, and followed the conqueror to the Alexandrine and African wars. Afterwards, when the war was concluded, and when Cæsar had forgiven many who had been opposed to him, the two brothers of Ligarius, who had ever

been the friends of Cæsar, and many of their relations, interceded for his pardon. Cæsar was much offended with Ligarius, and wished to reject the petition; but when he saw Cicero, Pansa, Brocchus, and others join in the request made for his pardon, he began to be inclined to grant it. At this time, Quintus Tubero, son of Lucius, influenced by motives of revenge for not having been formerly received into Africa, and being therefore desirous to obstruct any favor intended to be bestowed upon Ligarius, that he might effectually gratify his vindictive desires, brought forward an accusation against Ligarius, charging him with having prosecuted the war in Africa against Cæsar with uncommon zeal and violence. Cæsar, who was greatly exasperated against those, who, through aversion to him, had renewed the African war, was pleased by the accusation, and, being greatly prejudiced against the defendant, changed his former determination, and became resolved to sacrifice him to the gratification of his own revenge. Plutarch relates, that Cæsar was so much prepossessed against Ligarius, that, when the trial came on, and he was told that Cicero intended to plead for him, he said he saw no reason why he should attend to him, as it was evident that Ligarius was an enemy, and therefore criminal. He, however, permitted the orator to speak.

Analysis Exordii.

Reddit Cæsarem,

Attentum,	propositione criminis novi. 1. et inauditi. 1.
Benevolum sibi,	misericordiæ ejus imploratione. 1. et laudatione. 1.
Infensum adversario,	qui a Pompeianis steterat. 1. cum patre suo 1

Narratio.

Profectio Ligarii in Africam:	cùm nulla esset belli suspicio. 1. et legatus esset Considii Ligarius. 1.	
Remansio in Africa,	sub Considio: cùm	omnibus se probavit. 1. a Considio est præpositus Africæ. 1.
	post Considii discessum	in pace omnibus gratus. 1. in bello quietus. 1.
	post Vari adventum	imperio cessit. 1, 2. invitus remansit. 2.

Confirmatio.

A personâ Cæsaris: qui	pepercit Ciceroni. 2. et ipsi Tuberoni. 3.

- A personâ Tuberonis: qui
  - crudelis est
    - civium Romanorum necem petens. 4.
    - Cæsaris victoris clementiam impediens. 5.
  - injurius:
    - clarissimis civibus, quos sceleratos vocat. 6.
    - Ipsique Pompeio, quem facit sceleratorum ducem. 6.
  - ejusdem culpæ reus,
    - petitâ Africâ, contra Cæsarem. 7.
    - adito Pompeio, in Cæsarem pugnante. 8.
    - armis sumptis in Cæsarem. 9.

Peroratio.

- Cæsarem movet ad misericordiam
  - a personâ Ligarii. 10.
  - amicorum. 10, 11.
  - fratrum. 11, 12.
  - Cæsaris. 12.

Page. Line.

70 2. *Propinquus meus:* It is unknown what connection Tubero had with Cicero. The old scholiasts say, that he married a sister of the orator.

3. *C. Pansa:* Pansa was a famous orator, and had much influence with Cæsar. He was very serviceable to those, who, having been friends of Pompey, supplicated Cæsar's forgiveness.

17. *Itaque priùs de vestro delicto, etc.:* Tubero himself had fought against Cæsar; it was impossible, therefore, that he could accuse Ligarius before he confessed his own criminality.

32. *P. Attius Varus:* Varus was the first who took possession of Africa on the part of the republic; but, being afterwards defeated by Cæsar, he fled with Sextus Pompeius into Spain, and was killed in the battle of Munda.

34. *Si illud imperium, etc.:* By a law of the people, the power of a magistrate must be conferred upon private persons by a decree of the senate: Cicero, therefore, seems to doubt, whether the authority conferred by Considius upon Ligarius could with propriety be called *imperium.*

71 10. *Necessitatem honestam:* The command of the proconsul Considius, and the importunate solicitations of the people, imposed upon Ligarius a kind of necessity to remain in Africa.

27. *In quâ seipsum:* It has been before mentioned, that Cicero had chosen the party of Pompey, because he thought it less dangerous to the republic, and that, notwithstanding his political principles, Cæsar had pardoned him.

34. *Judicio:* The success, which attended Cicero's oration for Marcellus, induced him now to be more frank in declaring his motives for joining Pompey. Knowing Cæsar's clemency, he forgets the ties of gratitude, and the friendly, not political principles, which, he once said, induced him to unite himself to the antagonist of Cæsar, and hesitates not to declare publicly, and in the very presence of the

conqueror, that he voluntarily, and with mature deliberation (*judicio meo*), attached himself to that party, which fought for the republic. 71

37. *Ad me....literas misit:* After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar went to Egypt, where he remained some months. While he was there, he wrote to Cicero, expressing his good will toward him; but, before the reception of the letter, Cicero had written to his friend Atticus to request Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa, to intercede with Cæsar in his favor. The address of Cæsar's letter was, *Cæsar Imperator M. Tullio Ciceroni Imperatori salutem.*

39. *Me alterum passus est:* Cicero, as has been before related, was sent proconsul into Cilicia in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, where he defeated the Armenians, and took the city Pindenissus. He also declared war against the robbers upon mount Amanus, and, for his success against them, was saluted with the title of *Imperator* by his soldiers. The next year he returned to Italy, where a civil war had commenced; but he still retained his power, and remained proconsul, by not going into Rome; for, as we are told by Ulpian, the Roman commanders retained their authority till they had entered the city.

6. *Studiisque delector:* It is said of Tubero, that he studied oratory, and undertook to manage the causes of his clients, but was so completely defeated by the eloquence of Cicero in this oration, that he forsook the profession, and dared no more to plead. 72

11. *Quid enim, Tubero, etc.:* These interrogations compose the part of the oration which is said to have made Cæsar tremble. Suetonius, however, relates that Cæsar was subject to epileptic fits, which were attended with change of color and trembling of the nerves, and that he was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial proceedings—one of which times was perhaps while Cicero was pronouncing this oration. The words do not seem to possess sufficient energy to produce so great an effect.

12. *Acie Pharsalicâ:* Pharsalia was a town in Thessaly, famous for the decisive battle which was there fought between Pompey and Cæsar.

16. *Iisdem in armis fui:* Cicero was in the camp of Pompey at Pharsalia, but did not fight, as his infirm state of health would not permit him.

17. *Nisi, ut quod hic potest, nos possemus?:* The meaning of these words is—"but that we might have the power of doing what he can now do?"

26. *Meliorem quàm tu:* Better, because Ligarius against his will remained in Africa, while Tubero made voluntary exertions to get there, but did not succeed.

30. *Externi isti sunt mores:* The criminal code of the Romans during the continuance of the republic was far from being sanguinary; no citizen could be put to death without the consent of the people.

38. *Apud eum....dictatorem:* Sulla, when dictator, not only ordered many to be put to death, but also gave a reward of two talents (nearly £386 sterling) to every one who killed a proscribed person.

41. *Ab eodem:* The cruelty of Sulla was so abhorred by Cæsar, that he passed a law, that they should be considered murderers, who should draw money from the treasury for having produced the head of a proscribed citizen.

16. *Quod et fecimus:* Cicero and others had privately, and with much entreaty, requested Cæsar to pardon Ligarius. 73

73 27. *Etiam de victis:* Tubero, one of the conquered, wished Cæsar to be inexorable to Ligarius.

43. *Postulatio:* The manner of making an accusation in Rome was this; the accuser summoned the person accused to court, where he desired of the inquisitors that he might be allowed to produce his charge, and that the prætor would name a day for that purpose. This *postulatio*, or request, was sometimes made in the absence of the defendant, but there were certain days appointed, on which the prætor attended to these requests.

74 3. *Isto....nomine....adhuc causâ caruit:* Cicero here speaks with manly openness. He was not afraid to pronounce what he thought.

18. *Contumeliam:* Cæsar thought himself injured in three respects. The province of Gaul was conferred on him for ten years, but, before that time had expired, a successor to him was appointed. The consulate was denied to him after he left Gaul. After a victory, the honor of a triumph was denied to him, and he was required to render an account of his administration.

20. *Cùm pacem esse cupiebas:* It is said Cæsar desired peace; if he had such a desire, he wished a peace of that kind, to which no Roman should have submitted. Cæsar was an ambitious man; from early youth he had but one object in view, and that was the acquisition of the supreme power of Rome. This he attained; and such was his address in attaining it, that Cicero either really believed, or pretended to believe, that he made war upon his country only to obtain satisfaction for the injuries he thought he had received.

40. *Senatus....legaverat:* The proconsuls appointed their lieutenants, but it was necessary the senate should approve their appointment.

75 6. *Domi unà eruditi:* Cicero and L. Tubero were educated together in the same school.

6. *Militiæ contubernales:* In the retinue of the proconsul were comprehended his military officers, and all his public and domestic attendants Among these were the young noblemen, who went with him to learn the art of war, and to see the method of conducting public business, who, on account of their intimacy, were called *contubernales.* Cicero and Lucius Tubero were *contubernales* under Cneius Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic war.

25. *Tua liberalitas:* Cicero knew that Cæsar boasted of his clemency; like a man of address, therefore, he omits no opportunity of complimenting him upon the possession of this virtue.

35. *Rex potentissimus:* Juba, king of Mauritania, was very inimical to Cæsar. He, however, was subdued.

76 22. *Justo cum imperio:* See Note, page 70, line 34.

28. *Ejus:* Pompey's.

29. *Languidiore, etc.:* This is irony.

77 4. *Causas....egi....tecum:* As the forum was the grand school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the empire were determined, it was here that those who aspired to public dignities laid the foundation of their fortunes. Every ambitious man applied himself to pleading causes and to defending innocence in distress, as the surest means of gaining popularity. In this business Cæsar is said to have been engaged from the 21st to the 39th year of his age. This man, of great and universal talents, neglected no method of gratifying his exorbitant ambition. Money, intrigue, hypocrisy, affectation of republican sentiments, theatrical exhibitions to the people, expensive entertainments, arms, &c., contributed to

increase his popularity, and insure his success. Of his forensic abilities, Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought, and that he was the only man, who, had he wished it, was capable of rivaling Cicero in eloquence. 77

34. *Sabinos:* Ligarius seems to have been a Sabine.

7. *Veste mutatâ:* During the trial, the defendant and his friends changed their garments, as was usual. 78

11. *Sic hoc verissimum:* Cæsar had said, that he thought all those on his side who were not against him. He had reason to think so; in a civil war, in which the constituted authorities of government are attacked, there is a probability, that whoever is not inimical to the usurper, favors his designs.

40. *In curiâ...in foro:* In the senate-house Cæsar pardoned Marcellus; the cause of Ligarius was tried in the Forum.

12. This oration, which, M. Crevier says, is "indisputably one of the finest monuments of the skill and insinuating address of the great Roman orator," was very popular. The success which attended it, made Tubero ashamed of his conduct. An honorable testimony to the merit of the oration is, that Cæsar pardoned Ligarius contrary to his will, and that the events, which afterwards happened, evinced, that Cæsar knew correctly the character of Ligarius and his republican sentiments, and that he had reason to expect from him future opposition, if he returned from exile. After his return, he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Cæsar, but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began to lament, that he had fallen sick in a very unlucky hour, Ligarius, raising himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied; "Yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well." Nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him; for we find him afterwards in the list of conspirators. 79

THE ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the facts relative to this oration, we can learn but little from historians; even the character of Deiotarus seems not to be ascertained with accuracy; he is represented by some as amiable and virtuous, by others as sanguinary and cruel. An incident, which has perhaps prevented the facts concerning the subject of this oration from being more fully and correctly known, is, that it was not delivered in the Forum, but privately before Cæsar in a dwelling-house. What we are able to learn is, that king Deiotarus was Tetrarch of Gallogræcia; that, during the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, he assisted the latter; that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he abandoned his party; that, after having been stripped of part of his dominions, to atone for his offence, he was pardoned by Cæsar; that, during the wars in the East, he entertained Cæsar as his guest in the castle of Luceius;

and that, after the civil contentions had been for some time composed, he was accused before Cæsar by Phidippus, his physician and slave, of having intended to assassinate Cæsar, while he was his guest; of having for this purpose placed assassins in a room, into which he invited Cæsar to enter and view some presents he had prepared for him, and also in a bath, in which he expected Cæsar would bathe before he retired to bed; of having ever been an enemy to Cæsar; of having levied an army against him; of having designed to send messengers to Cæcilius, a man professedly inimical to Cæsar; of having sent to Cæsar bad cavalry, and employed a slave as a horseman, which was forbidden by the Roman law; of having repeated an obnoxious Greek verse when he heard that Domitius was shipwrecked and Cæsar besieged; of having exulted so much, when this information was communicated to him, that he intoxicated himself with wine, and danced naked at an entertainment; and of having received from Blesamius, his friend and agent in Rome, letters containing slanderous tales concerning Cæsar. We also learn, that Phidippus, the physician and slave, who preferred these accusations, was suborned by Castor, a grandson of Deiotarus, who was very inimical to the king, and was induced by motives of revenge for some private offence to plot his grandfather's ruin. To defeat the intention of Castor, and to prove the charges of Phidippus false, Cicero pleads with his usual address and success in this oration, which was delivered in the 708th year of Rome, and in the sixty-second of the orator's age.

Analysis Exordii.

Reddit

- Benevolum et attentum, declarato timore suo:
  - ob personas
    - rei inusitati, qui
      - rex est. 1.
      - a senatu ornari solitus. 1.
      - bene de republicâ meritus. 1.
      - atrocissimi sceleris accusatus. 1.
    - accusatorum crudelium:
      - Castoris, avum in discrimen adducentis. 1.
      - Phidippi servi, dominum accusantis. 1.
    - Cæsaris judicis: qui
      - in causâ suâ judicat. 2.
      - quod oratori est grave. 2.
  - ob locum,
    - insolitum oratori. 2.
    - intra palatium Cæsaris. 2.
    - extra conventum populi. 2.
    - in oculis læsi principis. 2.
- Docilem, propositione dicendorum:
  - de accusatoribus. 2.
  - et de ipsâ accusatione. 2.

Narratio.

Accusatorum fiducia. 3.
Cæsaris, erga Deiotarum, pristina benevolentia. 3.

- Deiotari, omni tempore, prudentia: qui
  - senatum secutus est. 3.
  - Pompeium. 4.
  - Cæsarem ipsum. 5.

Confutationis Prima Pars.

- A personâ Deiotari:
  - a quo removet vitiosa:
    - furorem, scelus, ferociam. 5.
    - inhumanitatem, et ingratitudinem. 5.
    - sine quibus id fieri non potuit
      - in hospitem. 5.
      - gentium lumen. 5.
      - victorem orbis. 5.
      - dantem titulum regis. 5.
  - cui attribuit virtutes:
    - prudentiam, fidem, religionem. 6.
    - constantiam, gravitatem, fortitudinem. 6.
    - et cæteras regi necessarias. 6
- A circumstantiis,
  - loci, in castello Luceio. 6.
  - modi, non veneno, sed palàm. 6.
  - temporis
    - ante cœnam. 7.
    - post cœnam. 7.
  - personarum,
    - Deiotari, rei,
      - nec trepidantis. 7.
      - nec tumultuantis. 7.
    - Phidippi accusatoris
      - a Deiotaro dimissi. 7.
      - ad Cæsarem destinati. 7.

Confutationis Secunda Pars.

- I. A Deiotaro non est paratus exercitus in Cæsarem. Nam
  - nec potuit, maximâ ditionis parte spoliatus. 8.
  - nec voluit.
    - Cæcilium enim contempsit. 8.
    - Cæsarem juvit,
      - in bello Alexandrino. 9.
      - Africano. 9.
- II. Contumeliosus non fuit Cæsari. Nam
  - versum immanem non protulit. 9.
  - nec in convivio saltavit: cùm
    - frugalis semper fuerit. 9.
    - senex tunc esset. 9.

Insectatio Castoris Accusatoris.

- In avum impius:
  - quem accusat ore fugitivi. 10
  - et saltatorem vocat. 10.
- Cæsaris hostis:
  - in quem pugnavit. 10.
  - nec victus arma deposuit. 10.
- Civibus injurius:
  - servo corrupto. 11.
  - et in dominum armato. 11.
- Reipublicæ noxius:
  - cujus jura et exempla corrumpit. 11.
  - et humanitatem inquinat. 11.

Blesamii calumniator:
- quem temerè accusat. 12.
- quòd contra Cæsarem scripserit. 12.

Peroratio.

I. Ne sibi Cæsar succensere credat Deiotarum: qui multa debet Cæsari.
- Ab antecedentibus id probat:
  - Galatiâ illi relictâ. 13.
  - et nomine regio. 13.
- Comitantia juvant:
  - gloria,
    - apud populum Romanum 13.
    - senatum. 13.
  - virtutes,
    - fortitudo. 13.
    - magnitudo animi. 13.
    - gravitas. 13.
    - constantia. 13.
- Consequentia evincunt:
  - spes per literas erecta. 14.
  - sollicitudo omnis discussa. 14.

II. Nec ipse Deiotaro succenseat:
- ob Ciceronem: qui
  - Deiotari amicus, et hospes. 14.
  - familiaris, et necessarius. 14.
- ob amplissimos viros: qui
  - Deiotaro afflicto, dubitarent de gratiâ sibi factâ. 14.
  - in sollicitudine perpetuâ hærerent. 14.
  - Cæsarem semper timerent. 14.
- ob Cæsarem ipsum: qui
  - misericordiâ est singulari. 14.
  - gloriâ erit illustri, reges conservando. 14, 15.
  - nomen regium Deiotaro reliquit 15.
- ob legatos præsentes: qui
  - corpora sua pro Deiotaro offerunt. 15.
  - ei causam omnem in se suscipiunt. 15.
- ob accusatores crudeles: qui
  - dedecus summum importare volunt regibus. 15.
  - et pestem miserrimam. 15.

Line. Page

21. *Quem ornare....solebam:* In an oration, which Cicero had before this time delivered in the senate (*De Aruspicum Responsis*), he praised the fidelity of Deiotarus to the Roman people, and said, that the senate had often thought him worthy of the regal title, and that he had been much commended in the testimonials of the most celebrated generals. 79

24. *Alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate:* The inhumanity of Castor, and the worthlessness of the slave Phidippus.

28. *Commendationemque....ab impietate et scelere:* Among the Romans, young men, who were ambitious of gaining reputation, often brought themselves into notice by accusing public offenders. But, in this case, Cicero implies, Castor deserved rather abhorrence than praise, for endeavoring to gain distinction by the impiety of attempting to ruin his grandfather.

31. *Legatorum pedibus:* Phidippus had been in the service of Dei- 79
otarus's deputies, and perhaps in no more honorable a capacity than that of a footman.

9. *Sed tuâ sapientiâ fit æquissimum:* Sufficient has already been 80
said concerning Cicero's flattery of Cæsar.

11. *Nemo enim ferè est, etc.:* This observation is just, and Cicero deserves credit for suggesting it to Cæsar. When a man is both judge and party in an accusation, there is great probability, that he will be more favorable to himself than to the accused.

34. *Qui pro multis sæpe dixisti:* In a note to a former oration (page 77, line 4), we have already observed, that Cæsar, in the early part of his life, applied himself to the business of the bar.

38. *De accusatorum spe:* That the student may be able to judge more impartially of the character of Deiotarus and his accusers, we will quote an observation of a judicious commentator. "As to the facts laid down in this oration, we can say very little; but, by what we understand from our author himself in other parts of his writings, the charges are not so destitute of probability and proof, as he would represent them. With regard to the characters, the one given of Deiotarus, throughout this oration, I am apt to believe, is very much misrepresented; for, by all other accounts, he appears to have been a monster of blood and cruelty; since he put to death all his own children, and afterwards Castor's own father, which may well account for Castor's appearing in the prosecution."

19. *Si....excusatione ætatis usus esset:* It is related that Cæsar told 81
Deiotarus, "You are a very old man; Pompey is not to expect, that you are to take the field; therefore I beg you will not go in person, though, if you please, you may send your troops; nay, your son at their head;" and that Deiotarus was so inveterate an enemy to Cæsar, that he would not urge even old age as an excuse for not taking the field.

24. *Errore communi lapsus est:* Cicero here artfully apologizes for Deiotarus without offending Cæsar, by paying the tribute of flattery, which in a few lines follows, and by appearing to believe the plausible excuses Cæsar had formed to justify his usurpations.

2. *In quem cùm Dii atque homines, etc.:* Envy and emulation cease 82
with the life of the person envied and rivalled. An ambitious man, therefore, will hear without being offended the praises bestowed upon a deceased enemy, which, had the enemy been living, would have induced him to inflict upon the panegyrist the dictates of the severest vengeance. The encomiums Cicero here pronounces upon Pompey were, without doubt, rather pleasing than offensive to Cæsar; the more Pompey was extolled, the more merit the conqueror of Pompey attributed to himself. Cicero, therefore, who well knew the effect of compliments, deserves here more credit for his knowledge of mankind, than for the freedom of his praises of Pompey.

23. *Alexandrinum bellum:* After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar immediately set sail for Egypt, to which country Pompey had fled after his defeat. Upon his landing, the first news he received informed him of Pompey's miserable end. He wept, when he heard the account, and shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory. At this time there were two pretenders to the crown of Egypt, Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister. Cæsar ordered both of them to maintain their pretensions before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdained accepting this proposal, and sent an army of twenty thou-

82 sand men to attack Cæsar in Alexandria. Thus commenced the Alexandrine war, which, having continued for some months with various fortune, at length terminated in Cæsar's subduing Egypt.

24. *Cn. Domitii:* When victory had declared itself for Cæsar at Pharsalia, he made Domitius lieutenant over Asia and the neighboring provinces.

83 30. *E balneo:* It was customary among the ancients to bathe before supper.

84 20. *Vomere te post cœnam:* To vomit after supper was usual. Supper, as has been before mentioned, was the principal meal among the Romans.

36. *Reliqua pars, etc.:* The ingenuity of Cicero's reasoning in refuting the accusations deserves the student's careful attention. The argumentation is so plain, that it needs no comment or illustration.

85 32. *Ipse....mansuetus:* See Note, page 80, line 38.

38. *Nudum saltavisse:* This was very reproachful among the Romans.

87 10. *Servum sollicitare:* It was thought dishonorable to employ a slave in an accusation against his master; and so nice was the Roman law upon this subject, that it did not allow much credit to be given to a slave's testimony.

41. *Blesamius:* The friend and agent in Rome of Deiotarus.

88 7. *Ea, te victore, non vidimus:* No more need be said concerning Cicero's flattery to Cæsar.

28. *Multis tibi multa esse tribuenda:* Cæsar, like all other heads of parties victorious in revolutions, was obliged to distribute offices among his clamorous partisans. He made 14 prætors and 40 quæstors; he increased the senate to 900, and created a great number of additional officers in other posts.

89 8. *Omnes docti:* The Peripatetic philosophers maintained that virtue was the greatest good; the Stoics, that it was the only good.

26. *Exercitum meum:* The army which Cicero commanded in Cilicia, and which he employed in subduing the robbers, who infested his province.

36. *Duos reges:* Deiotarus and his son.

90 2. *Hi legati:* Upon this passage a commentator observes, "This was a very high strain of loyalty towards so worthless a fellow as Deiotarus appears to have been; for these three persons offered to stand the rack to prove their prince's innocence."

21. In defence of king Deiotarus, Brutus also spoke. Cæsar was pleased with the tribute of adulation, which Cicero, as usual, paid him, but was astonished at the boldness of Brutus. Brutus delivered the sentiments of a republican. Brutus had been the friend of Cæsar; but when Cæsar heard the freedom of his address, he began to suspect, that Brutus would not with ease submit to his usurpation. The catastrophe of Cæsar's life is well known. Cicero and Brutus, however, on this occasion succeeded. Deiotarus was pardoned.

THE ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

INTRODUCTION.

This elegant oration was delivered in the 692nd year of Rome, two years after the consulship of Cicero, and one year after the defeat of Catiline and his accomplices. In early life Cicero had been placed under the tuition of Aulus Lucinius Archias, a native of Antioch, and a man patronized by men of the greatest eminence in Rome for his learning, genius, and politeness. His celebrity was so great, that Lucullus invited him to reside in his family, and gave him the privilege of opening a school in it, to which many of the young Roman nobility were sent to be educated. The prosperity of this popular poet and instructor, however, was interrupted by the malignity of an obscure person, of the name of Gracchus, or by the subornation of those who persuaded him to acts of enmity against Archias. Sylvanus and Carbo had passed a law, which enacted, that those should be esteemed Roman citizens, who were admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, who, at the time of the passing of the law, had a dwelling in Italy, and who claimed their privilege before the prætor within sixty days. Upon this law, in the consulship of M. P. Piso and M. V. Messala, Gracchus accused Archias; he said that Archias lived in the city as a citizen, while he was not entitled to the rights of citizenship. He denied that Archias was admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, that he had an abode in Italy, at the time the law was passed, and that he had claimed the privileges of a citizen before the prætor. In this oration, which was delivered before the prætor, Cicero defends Archias, his friend and former instructor: he refutes the allegations of Gracchus, and proves that Archias was admitted to the freedom of Heraclea and other cities, that he dwelt in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and that he claimed his privileges before the prætor. The orator, however, does not confine himself to the defence of Archias, but, with great beauty and elegance, descants upon the praises of poetry in general, and upon the talents and merit of the defendant. According to Dr. Middleton, Cicero "expected for his pains an immortality of fame from the praises of Archias's muse; but, by a contrary fate of things, instead of deriving any addition of glory from Archias's compositions, it is wholly owing to his own, that the name of Archias has not long ago been buried in oblivion. From the great character given by him of the talents and genius of this poet, we cannot help regretting the entire loss of his works; he had sung, in Greek verse, the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, and of Lucullus over Mithridates, and was now attempting the consulship of Cicero; but this perished with the rest, or, rather, was left unfinished, and interrupted by his death, since we find no further mention of it in Cicero's later writings." At the time of delivering this oration, Cicero was in the forty-sixth year of his age.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium.	Conciliat sibi benevolentiam, grato animo erga Archiam attentionem, novo dicendi genere. docilitatem, propositione causæ.
Narratio.	Declarat Archiæ studia et patriam. famam et adventum in Italiam. adscriptionem in civitates { Heracleam. et Romam.
Confirmatio.	Archiam esse jam civem Romanum probat. Si non esset, dignum, qui civis fiat.
Peroratio.	Petit pro Archiâ, ut jus civitatis Romanæ ei conservetur Sperare se dicit, orationem suam judicibus placuisse.

Analysis Exordii.

Conciliat

Benevolentiam, gratitudine erga præceptorem: qui	animum ad studia impulit. 1. vocem ad eloquentiam formavit. 1.
Attentionem, novo genere dicendi:	de studiis humanitatis. 2. coram humanissimis. 2.
Docilitatem, propositione causæ, pro Archiâ: qui	jam civis est. 2. si non esset, fieri deberet. 2.

Narratio.

Declarat,

Archiæ studia:	a primâ adolescentiâ. 3. publicâ luce digna. 3.	
Patriam Antiochiam:	fortunæ bonis abundantem. 3. scientiarum splendore illustrem. 3.	
Famam bonam:	in totâ Asiâ. 3. in totâ Græciâ. 3.	
Adventum in Italiam: ubi	civitate donatur	a Tarentinis. 3. Rheginis. 3. Neapolitanis. 3.
	Romæ amatur et colitur	a Lucullis, et Metellis. 3. a Scauro, et Catulis, etc. 3.
Profectionem Heracleam: ubi	civis fit, merito suo. 4. auctoritate Luculli. 3.	
Admissionem in Romanam civitatem:	lege Plautiâ. 4. domicilio. 4. professione apud Metellum prætorem. 4	

Confirmatio.

- Archiam esse civem Romanum. Nam
  - I. Civis fuit Heracleæ,
    - ut Lucullus testatur. 4.
    - et Heracleæ legati. 4.
  - II. Domicilium habuit Romæ: quam
    - sedem rerum suarum elegit. 4.
    - et fortunarum. 4.
  - III. Professus est apud prætorem
    - sanctissimum et modestissimum. 5.
    - ac tabularum custodem fidelissimum. 5.
  - IV. Civis fuit plurium urbium fœderatarum,
    - Rhegiensis. 5.
    - Locrensis. 5.
    - Neapolitanæ. 5.
    - Tarentinæ. 5.
  - V. Civium Romanorum jure usus est,
    - testamento facto. 5.
    - hereditatibus aditis. 5.
    - beneficiis in ærario receptis. 5.
- Et civitate Romanâ dignum:
  - ob poësim, quæ
    - utilitatem affert,
      - oratoribus. 6.
      - reipublicæ ducibus. 7.
    - delectationem,
      - in omni ætate vitæ. 7.
      - varietate fortunæ. 7.
      - loco. 7.
      - tempore. 7.
    - honestatem,
      - divinos afflando spiritus. 8.
      - sanctos efficiendo alumnos suos. 8.
      - venerabiles omnibus præstando. 8.
  - ob amorem erga populum Romanum, quo
    - Marii victoriam de Cimbris attigit. 9.
    - Luculli de Mithridate victorias descripsit. 9.
    - Ciceronis consulatum, et judicum laudes inchoavit. 9.
    - ergo amandus est a judicibus:
      - ut Ennius, ab Africano. 9.
      - varii scriptores, ab Alexandro. 10.
      - Theophanes, a Pompeio. 10.
      - malus poeta, a Sullâ. 10.
      - Cordubenses poëtæ, a Metello. 10.
      - Attius, a Bruto. 11.

Peroratio.

Petit

- pro Archiâ:
  - ut civis Romanus conservetur, ob personam ejus,
    - insignem pudore. 12.
    - dignitate. 12.
    - venustate. 12.
    - ingenio. 12.
  - ob causam comprobatam
    - beneficio legis Plautiæ. 12.
    - auctoritate municipii Heracliensis. 12.
    - testimonio Luculli, viri consularis. 12.
    - tabulis Metelli, prætoris. 12.
  - ob effecta ab ipso: qui
    - ornavit scriptis Marium et Lucullum. 12.
    - ornare incepit Ciceronem, et judices. 12.
  - ob officium poëtæ:
    - quod sanctum est habitum. 12
    - atque dictum. 12.
- pro seipso,
  - ut, pro fori consuetudine dicta, placeant. 12.
  - ut, præter fori consuetudinem dicta, non displiceant. 12.

Page. Line.

90 26. *A quà....nullum....ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse:* Cicero devoted his leisure hours to the study of philosophy and the belles-lettres. In early life he cultivated his poetical talents, and composed a poem in tetrameter verse, entitled Pontius Glaucus, which was extant at the time Plutarch composed his biography.

27. *Earum rerum....fructum....suo jure:* As Archias had improved his mind, Cicero thought that he was entitled to the benefit of his instructions.

30. *Memoriam....ultimam:* Archias came to Rome when Cicero was but five years of age, and became Cicero's instructor, while he was yet very young.

91 5. *Ac, ne quis, &c.:* A literal translation of the sentence is, "And let no one be surprised, that this should be said by me, because in him there is a different kind of genius, and not this mode and exercise of speaking; neither have I, indeed, ever devoted myself wholly to this study."

12. *Quæstione legitimâ:* Those causes were called *questiones legitimæ*, which were provided for by the laws, and in which any one had a right to call the delinquents to a trial.

13. *Apud prætorem:* The *prætor urbanus* had cognizance of these actions.

15. *Hoc uti genere:* Cicero seems to have thought, that if he could not move the judges by his arguments, he might insure his success by diverting them with the beauties of his imagination and the charms of his composition.

20. *Hominum literatissimorum:* The friends of Archias, and other literary characters, attended this trial, to hear the defence of Cicero, and learn its success.

32. *Antiochiæ:* Antioch was the metropolis of Syria.—*Loco:* "Family."

39. *Græcarum artium:* After the destruction of Carthage, the belles-lettres and fine arts of Greece were introduced into Italy.

40. *In Latio:* Latium was a part of Italy situated near the banks of the Tiber. Rome was in this part of the country.

42. *Non negligebantur:* In the early ages of the republic, the wars and civil commotions of Rome made the acquisition of military talents to be considered as the only object of education. The old Romans rejected the arts and literature of Greece, because they thought they would make their sons effeminate. But in the latter ages of the republic, when war was removed to a greater distance from the city, and Rome was tranquil, humanity, civility, the arts and sciences were cultivated by the citizens.

43. *Civitate:* "The freedom of the city," or "the privileges of a citizen."

92 4. *Mario consule et Catulo:* Marius and Catulus were consuls in the 651st year of Rome; this oration was delivered in the year 692, forty-one years after Archias came to Rome.

5. *Quorum alter:* This was the fourth consulship of Marius. It has been already observed, that Archias sung in Greek verse the military exploits of Marius.

6. *Alter cùm res gestas, etc.:* Of this Catulus, Cicero makes honorable mention in his treatises *De Claris Oratoribus* and *De Oratore*. It seems from this passage, that he possessed literary taste as well as military talents.

7. *Luculli* Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Lucullus were brothers. 92
Lucius triumphed over Mithridates and Tigranes. (See the oration for the Manilian law.) Plutarch says, that Lucius Lucullus collected a large library, which was open to all men of learning.

7. *Prætextatus:* The *toga prætexta* was given to young men about the sixteenth year of their age. It is probable, that Archias was rather farther advanced in life when he went to Rome.

12. *Q. Metello....Numidico:* This Metellus was surnamed *Numidicus*, because he defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and laid waste all Numidia. According to Plutarch, he was an uncle of the Luculli.—*Ejus Pio filio:* The son of Metellus was called *Pius*, because by his entreaties he obtained his father's recall from exile. The old Roman signification of *pietas* was *filial duty;* theological writers use it in the sense of *duty towards God*, our heavenly Father.

13. *M. Æmilio:* Æmilius Scaurus was at the head of the senate, and a man of great influence.—*Q. Catulo:* There were an orator and a consul of this name.

14. *L. Crasso, etc.:* Lucius Crassus was celebrated for his eloquence. Of the Luculli we have already spoken. Drusus was an uncle of Marcus Cato, was a tribune of the people, and was slain at home in the beginning of the social war. There were three Octavii in Rome; Cneius, who was consul with Cinna (see Note, page 32, line 39); another Cneius of a different family, who was colleague of Curio in the consulship; and Lucius, who was consul in conjunction with Cotta, and was a brother of the last-mentioned Cneius. This Cato was the father of the celebrated Cato who committed suicide at Utica.

20. *Interim:* "Afterwards."

21. *In Siciliam profectus:* Lucius Lucullus, when quæstor, went to Asia, when prætor, had the province of Sicily, and when consul, obtained Asia again. Archias attended him in these provinces.

22. *Heracleam:* Heraclea was an Italian city, situated upon the borders of Campania, near Rhegium and Tarentum. It was one of the associate cities, whose citizens had the same privileges that the Romans had. Archias of course, therefore, might claim the privileges of a Roman citizen.

23. *Fædere:* The alliance was made with Heraclea, at the time king Pyrrhus was in Italy, in the year of Rome 475.

34. *Dicta:* "Defended."

43. *Italico bello:* In the 662nd year of Rome, the Italian allies of the Romans made war upon the republic, to obtain the freedom of the city by arms. This occasioned the Italic or social war, which has also been called the Marsic war, because it was begun by the Marsi.

4. *Religionem:* Testimony was thought religious, because it was 93
given upon oath.

10. *Iis Tabulis:* Archias did not record his name in those registers which were kept negligently, but in those kept by Metellus, a man of unquestionable integrity.

12. *Appii tabulæ, etc.:* Appius and Gabinius were prætors when Archias was registered. The register of Appius was known to be kept negligently; and the corruption of Gabinius, while he was safe, and his disgrace, after his condemnation, destroyed the credit of his register also. This Gabinius was afterwards consul with L. Piso; it does not appear of what crime he had been convicted.

14. *Metellus:* He was the prætor before whom Archias claimed the privileges of a citizen.

93 22. *Græcià:* Cicero here means Græcia Magna, a part of Italy extending from Cumæ to Tarentum.

23. *Locrenses:* The inhabitants of Locris, a city in the remotest part of Italy, conferred upon Archias the immunities of a citizen.

24. *Scenicis artificibus:* Managers of theatres and their associates were contemptible among the Romans.

26. *Post civitatem datam:* i. e. after the passing of the law of Sylvanus and Carbo.—*Post legem Papiam:* Petronius at first made a law, prohibiting strangers from enjoying the privileges of citizens; this law Papius, a tribune of the people, revived in the year of Rome 688.

28. *Irrepserint:* By means of the negligence or corruption of the prætors.

30. *Census:* A *census,* or enumeration of the people, was usually taken once every five years. The census did not make or prove a man to be a citizen; but was only presumptive evidence, that he had been admitted to the freedom of the city. Gracchus said, that the name of Archias was not upon the censor's books; Cicero replies, that Archias was absent with Lucullus when the census was taken, and that when he was in Rome, the census was not taken.

30. *Proximis censoribus:* In the time of the last censors, Archias was with Lucullus, at that time general in Asia; in the time of the preceding censor, he was with the same Lucullus, who was then quæstor in Asia; when Julius and Crassus were censors, no census was taken. The census about that time was discontinued for a number of years.

37. *Ne ipsius....judicio:* Gracchus pretended, that, by Archias's own confession, he was not a Roman citizen.

38. *Testamentum....fecit:* Strangers could neither make a will nor receive a legacy; Archias, therefore, by making a will and receiving legacies, declared himself a citizen.

40. *Ad ærarium:* It was customary, when a soldier had behaved remarkably well, that the general should commend him to the treasury to receive a reward; these recommendations were thought very honorable.

94 17. *Tempestivis conviviis:* Entertainments, which began earlier, and continued later, than usual.

29. *Tantas dimicationes:* Civil commotions and insurrections.

35. *Expressas:* Examples.

95 8. *Africanum:* The youngest son of Paulus Æmilius was surnamed Africanus. He destroyed Numidia and Carthage. Cicero (*De Officiis*) says of him, that he added dignity to his warlike glory by his eloquence.—*C. Lælium, L. Furium:* Lælius was surnamed *Sapiens,* and was celebrated for his eloquence. In his book *De Claris Oratoribus,* Cicero speaks in high terms of the literary talents of Furius. Cato was a man of great authority and courage. Cicero, in his writings upon oratory, frequently speaks of his eloquence. He learned the Greek language when he was very old.

17. *Cætera:* Other pursuits. The student must be pleased with this panegyric upon literature.

25. *Roscii:* Roscius, the comedian, for whom Cicero formerly delivered an oration. He was remarkable for the gracefulness of his motion.

35. *Revocatum:* His attention recalled, Archias possessed the talent of expressing the same idea in many different ways.

44. *Sanctos appellat poëtas:* Plato calls poets the sons and interpreters of the gods. 95

5. *Saxa, etc.:* Cicero here alludes to the fable of Orpheus, whom the poets feign to have charmed tigers, lions, woods and trees by the music of his voice. 96

7. *Homerum, etc.:* The student well knows the story of the seven Greek cities claiming the honor of being Homer's birth-place. As there were several Homers of various professions, the probability is, that each had one or more whom they declared to be the celebrated poet. Colŏphon was a city of Ionia. Chios was an island in the Ægēan sea. Salămis was a city in the island of Cyprus. Smyrna was an Ionian city.

16. *Cimbricas res:* In singing the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, Archias celebrated the name and glory of Rome.

24. *Plotium:* There were two of this name, a rhetorician and a poet.

26. *Mithridaticum....bellum:* See the oration for the Manilian law, passim. A history of this war Archias wrote in Greek verse. Cicero here gives Lucullus those epithets (*fortissimum et clarissimum virum*), which, for no very good reason, he withheld from him in the oration for the Manilian law.

33. *Innumerabiles Armeniorum:* See Note, page 49, line 6, upon the oration for the Manilian law.

38. *Tenedum:* Tenĕdos was an island in the Ægēan sea, near which Lucullus defeated Mithridates in a naval battle.

42. *Ennius:* Ennius was an ancient poet, born in Calabria. He was patronized by Scipio Africanus. Nothing of his works remains but a few fragments.

1. *Proavus Cato:* This is Cato Major, an ancestor of the Cato who was present at the trial. In war, Cato the Elder was an expert general; in peace, an able lawyer; in pleading, an eloquent orator. 97

3. *Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii:* The valor and talents of these Romans, who were distinguished for their exploits in the second Punic war, had been sung by Ennius.

5. *Rudium hominem:* Ennius was born at Rudia, a city of Calabria, and was admitted to the freedom of Rome by M. Fulvius.

7. *Multis civitatibus expetitum:* By the inhabitants of Rhegium, Locris, and Naples.

9. *Si quis minorem, etc.:* Archias wrote in the Greek language; Ennius in the Latin. The Greek at that time was much more spoken than the Latin.

19. *Ille Alexander:* Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia.

23. *Ilias:* The Iliad of Homer is the celebrated poem in which he narrates the events of the Trojan war.

26. *Theophanem:* Theophănes was a poet and historian. He sung the deeds of Pompey, and on that account was presented with the freedom of the city.

31. *Itaque, (credo) etc.:* This is irony.

35. *Malus poëta de populo:* "An illiterate, vulgar poet."

1. *Cordŭbæ:* a city in *Hispania Bætica*, famous for its bad poets. It, however, produced some men of merit, among whom were the two Senecas and Lucan. 98

9. *Decimus quidem Brutus:* He was consul with Scipio, and in Spain defeated 60,000 Gallæcians, in consequence of which he was surnamed Gallæcius. Attius, or Accius, was a tragic poet.

12. *Ennio:* The poet Ennius attended Fulvius to the Ætolian war.

98 20. *Pro salute hujus urbis:* Cicero was very desirous to have the events of his consulship celebrated.

99 6. *Ut sapientissimi homines:* Some of the philosophers of antiquity believed in the immortality of the soul.

15. *Si:* The particle *si* is here used affirmatively.

19. *His recentibus....periculis:* This oration was delivered a short time after the republic had been delivered from the danger of Catiline's conspiracy.

28. *Ab eo:* It is not known who the prætor was, before whom Cicero delivered this oration. The eloquence of Cicero, however, was successful; Archias was acquitted.

THE ORATION FOR T. A. MILO.

INTRODUCTION.

The most remarkable event which happened in the close of the year of Rome 691, says Dr. Middleton, "was the pollution of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, or the Good Goddess, by P. Clodius; which, by an unhappy train of consequences, not only involved Cicero in an unexpected calamity, but seems to have given the first blow towards the ruin of the republic. Clodius was now quæstor, and, by that means, a senator; descended from the noblest family in Rome, in the vigor of his age, of a graceful person, lively wit, and flowing eloquence: but, with all the advantages of nature, he had a mind incredibly vicious; was fierce, insolent, audacious, but, above all, most profligately wicked, an open contemner of gods and men; disdaining even honors in the common forms of the republic; nor relishing pleasures, but what were impious, adulterous, incestuous. He had an intrigue with Cæsar's wife, Pompeia, who, according to annual custom, was now celebrating in her house those awful and mystic sacrifices, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and where every thing masculine was so scrupulously excluded, that even pictures of that sort were covered during the ceremony. This was a proper scene for Clodius's genius to act upon, an opportunity of daring beyond what man had ever dared before him; the thought of mixing the impurity of his lusts with the sanctity of these venerable rites flattered his imagination so strongly, that he resolved to gain access to his mistress in the very midst of her holy ministry. With this view, he dressed himself in a woman's habit, and, by the benefit of his smooth face, and the introduction of one of the maids, he hoped to pass without discovery; but, by some mistake between him and his guide, he lost his way, when he came within the house, and fell in, unluckily, among the other female servants, who, detecting him by his voice, alarmed the whole company by their shrieks, to the great amazement of the matrons, who presently threw a veil over the sacred mysteries, while Clodius found means to escape by the favor of some of the damsels."

These facts being publicly known, Clodius was called to a trial, and, because Cicero gave in evidence what justice and a regard to

truth obliged him to testify, Clodius from that time became his implacable enemy. He not only procured the banishment of Cicero, but extended his resentment to deeds of malice against the friends of the orator. Of these friends Milo was one, and consequently was often persecuted by Clodius. It afterwards happened, in the 701st year of Rome, when Milo, with two powerful competitors, was a candidate for the consulship, that Clodius was a candidate for the prætorship; and so great was their enmity, that each, by all the means in his power, endeavored to prevent the success of the other. The senate and all the virtuous part of the community were in favor of Milo, but the intrigues of the Clodian faction prevented the election of consuls for a long time after its usual period.

At this time, says Asconius, Milo endeavored to procure a meeting of the *Comitia* as soon as possible, and was upon the point of succeeding; for he had not only the good wishes of all virtuous men, who opposed Clodius, but likewise of the populace itself, who caressed him on account of his largesses, and his great expense in entertaining them with plays and shows of gladiators. But his competitors endeavored to put off the day appointed for this purpose as long as they could, and would not suffer an address to be made to the senate for assembling the patricians, in order to create an *Inter rex*, which was customary upon occasions of the like nature.

While the republic was thus situated, it happened that on the 13th of the Calends of February, Milo went to Lanuvium (of which he was a citizen, and, at that time, dictator) in order to create a priest on the next day; and that Clodius, in his return from Aricia, met him, about three in the afternoon, a little on the other side of *Bovillæ*, and nigh the place where the temple of *Bona Dea* stood. Clodius was on horseback; his retinue consisted of about thirty slaves with swords, and every way prepared for an attack, which was the usual way of travelling in those days. Besides these, Clodius had three companions, one a Roman knight, named C. Cassinius Scola, the other two, P. Pomponius and Caius Clodius, raised from the plebeian to the equestrian order. Milo was in a chariot together with his wife Fausta, and Marcus Fusius, his intimate acquaintance. He was attended by a great number of servants, some of them gladiators, and two of them, Eudămus and Birria, famous in their profession; who, walking slowly in the rear, happened to enter into a quarrel with the servants of Clodius. As Clodius turned about, with a stern and menacing air, to behold the fray, Birria run him through the shoulder with a sword. The riot increasing, Milo's servants ran up to the assistance of their companions, and Clodius, being wounded, was carried into a tavern near *Bovillæ*. Milo, hearing that Clodius was wounded, and thinking that it might prove dangerous, if he should live to resent it, but that his death would give him great satisfaction, even though he should be punished for it, ordered the tavern to be broken open. Marcus Fustenus was the leader of Milo's servants, and Clodius, attempting to conceal himself, was dragged forth, and killed with repeated stabs. His body was left on the high way, because his servants were either slain, or, being wounded, took care to conceal themselves. Sextus Tedius, a senator, as he happened to return from the country, took it up, and ordered it to be carried to Rome. The body reached Rome before the first hour of the night; a great multitude of servants and of the lower class of people flocked about it, and mourned over it, when lying in the court before the house. What heightened the horror of the deed,

was his wife Fulvia's exposing his wounds to public view, in all the action and agony of grief. By the dawn of the next day, a greater multitude of the same kind assembled, and many men of note were squeezed to death. Munatius Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus, tribunes of the people, repaired to the house of Clodius, and by their instigations prevailed upon the mob to convey his body (stripped of every thing save shoes, just as it lay in the bed) into the Forum, and place it on the Rostra, that the wounds might be better seen. There these tribunes, being enemies to Milo, made invective speeches against him, while the people, under the conduct of Sextus Clodius, a scribe, brought the body into the Forum, and burnt it, with the desks, seats, tables and books belonging to the clerks; by which fire the court itself was burnt, and the *Porcian Basilica* adjoining to it damaged. The same mob, favoring Clodius, beset the house of Milo, then absent, and of Marcus Lepidus, who had been appointed *Interrex*. Their irregularities, however, made their party unpopular, and Milo, whose friends now recovered their spirits, returned to Rome, distributed to the people a thousand *asses* a man, and, notwithstanding the unpopular act he had committed, stood for the consulship.

But for some days after the death of Clodius, Rome was in the greatest confusion. Factious tumults and the commotions of different mobs destroyed all the vestiges of regular government. These disturbances at length terminated in Cneius Pompey's being created sole consul. Three days after this magistrate entered upon office, he published a law for inquiring into the circumstances of Clodius's death. By this law it was enacted, that an extraordinary president should be chosen to regulate the trial of Milo. The *Comitia* being held upon this, Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus was recommended by Pompey, with the other judges, men of the greatest abilities and integrity in Rome. The accusers were the two Appii, young men, and kinsmen of Clodius. After the evidence for the prosecution had been heard before this court, which Pompey, to prevent the violent efforts of either party, had guarded with a strong body of regular troops, Cicero was permitted to proceed to the defence of the accused. When he began to speak, he was interrupted by a shout of the Clodian faction (whom even the terror of the guards could not restrain), which so much disconcerted him, as to deprive him, in a degree, of his presence of mind. Indeed, it has been said, he was so much terrified, that he made a frigid and weak defence. The following beautiful and persuasive oration, therefore, which Asconius thinks is the masterpiece of Cicero's eloquence, it is supposed, was composed by the orator, and received all its beauty and fire, some time after the sentence was passed. It was written in the 701st year of Rome, and in the 55th of Cicero's age.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium.	Judices reddit	benevolos.
		attentos.
		dociles.
Confutatio.	Præjudicium.	I. Nunquam esse licitam hominis cædem
		II. Milonem esse damnatum a senatu.
		III. A Pompeio.

Narratio.
- A Clodio factas esse insidias.
- Non a Milone.

Confirmationis pars prior.
- Ab antecedentibus ostendit, omnia fuisse necessaria Clodio, ad insidiandum:
  - voluntatem scilicet.
  - ac potestatem.
- A comitantibus ostendit, a Milone nihil electum ad insidias commodum:
  - non tempus.
  - locum.
  - comitatum.
- A consequentibus, ducit pro Milone conjecturas: nempe
  - a conscientiâ ejus securâ.
  - a judicio senatûs.
  - a calumniis inimicorum.
  - evidenter falsis.
- De Pompeio conqueritur:
  - ob vanas suspiciones.
  - et nimiam credulitatem.
- Judices animat: monetque
  - Pompeium non esse Miloni contrarium.
  - sed per milites ipsis esse præsidio.

Confirmationis pars altera.
- Clodium ob scelera sua occidi potuisse, probat:
  - ab exemplo Romanorum.
  - ab exemplo Græcorum.
  - a Dei providentiâ.
  - a reipublicæ periculo.

Peroratio.
- Misericordiam judicum implorat.
- Fortes ut in judicando sint, hortatur.

Analysis Exordii.

Declarat

- Timorem suum:
  - ob novi judicii novam formam. 1.
  - populi circumstantis infrequentiam. 1.
  - militum armatorum multitudinem 1.
- Virtutem Pompeii:
  - sapientissimi. 1.
  - justissimi. 1.
- Spem auxilii:
  - ab ipsis militibus. 1.
  - ab universo populo. 1.
- Scelera adversariorum:
  - a Clodio rapinis, &c. nutritorum. 2.
  - seditiosis clamoribus obstrepentium. 2.
- Officium judicum:
  - ut timorem deponant. 2.
  - et Miloni faveant. 2.
- Miseriam Milonis:
  - qui spe præmiorum excidit. 2.
  - metu exsilii agitatur. 2.
  - in ipso judicio periclitatur. 2.
- Propositionem quæstionis:
  - de insidiis Miloni a Clodio factis. 2.
  - quas luce clariores fore pollicetur. 3.

Confutatio.

Præjudicium

- I. *Nefas esse eum vivere, qui hominem occiderit,* refutatur:
  - ab exemplis,
    - Populi Romani, Scipionis Africani, Ahalæ Servilii. 3.
    - P. Nasicæ, Opimii, Marii. 3.
    - senatûs, et Deorum ipsorum. 3.
  - a lege XII. Tabularum:
    - permittit semper cædem furis nocturni. 3.
    - et aliquando diurni. 3.
  - a consuetudine
    - ferendi arma. 4.
    - ducendi comites. 4.
  - a jure naturæ. 4.
  - a legibus scriptis. 4.
- II. *A senatu damnatum Milonem,* refutatur:
  - a contrario. 5.
  - a testimonio adversarii. 5.
  - ab odio senatûs in Clodium. 5.
  - ab explicatione decreti in senatu facti. 5.
- III. *Atque a Pompeio:* refutatur:
  - a permissione ut Milo se defenderet. 6.
  - a tempore novam quæstionem exigente, præter morem: nam
    - nova quæstio non fuit, de cæde Drusi. 7.
    - de cæde Scipionis et Papirii. 7.
    - de scelere Clodii
      - molientis cædem Pompeii. 7.
      - atque Ciceronis. 7.
  - a desiderio constantiæ in reconciliatâ gratiâ. 8.
  - ab electione, quam fecit
    - judicum clarissimorum. 8.
    - et quæsitoris fortissimi. 8.

Narratio.

Insidiàs a Clodio, non a Milone factas, probat,

- Ab antecedentibus profectionem utriusque:
  - in Clodium enim fuit,
    - desiderium vexandæ reipublicæ. 9.
    - timor, ne Milo consul sibi prætori obesset. 9.
    - minæ apertæ occidendi Milonem. 9.
    - servorum barbarorum conquisitio. 9.
    - determinatio diei quo periturus erat Milo. 9.
    - cognitio itineris Miloni necessarii. 10.
    - profectio, relictâ concione seditiosâ. 10.
  - in Miloni autem,
    - præsentia in senatu. 10.
    - mora domi, ad itineris præparationem. 10.
    - uxoris exspectatio. 10.
- A comitantibus:
  - in Clodio, quòd esset,
    - expeditus in equo. 10.
    - nullâ rhedâ. 10.
    - nullis impedimentis. 10.
    - nullis Græcis comitibus. 10.
    - sine uxore. 10.
  - in Milone, qui erat
    - cum uxore. 10.
    - in rhedà. 10.
    - cum penulâ. 11.
    - cum magno vulgi impedimento. 10.
    - cum delicato comitatu
      - ancillarum. 10.
      - puerorum. 10.

- **A subsequentibus:**
  - occursu scilicet Clodii. 10.
  - telorum jactu primo, a Clodianis. 10.
  - rhedarii Miloniani cæde. 10.
  - pugnæ initæ modo. 10.
  - Clodii nece, a servis illatâ,
    - nec imperante Milone. 10.
    - nec sciente. 10.
    - nec præsente. 10.

Causæ Constitutio.

- I. A Milone jure occisum Clodium:
  - tum ut reipublicæ prodesset. 11.
  - tum ut vitam servaret: quod licere docet
    - ratio doctos. 11.
    - necessitas barbaros. 11.
    - mos gentes. 11.
    - natura feras. 11.
- II. Non quæri, utrum a Milone occisus sit Clodius. 11.
- III. Illud solum quæri:
  - uter utri fecerit insidias. 11.
  - ut ille damnetur, non alter. 11.

Confirmatioris Prima Pars.

Per conjecturam, uter fecerit insidias?

- **A voluntate occidendi:**
  - I. Ob utilitatem inde orituram:
    - Clodio,
      - in præturæ administratione. 12.
      - in legum latione. 12.
    - non Miloni,
      - qui, Clodio vivo, consul designabatur. 13.
      - Clodio mortuo, spe suâ excidit. 13.
  - II. Ob præsens odium
    - Clodii in Milonem,
      - defensorem Ciceronis. 13.
      - vexatorem furoris sui. 13.
      - domitorem armorum suorum. 13.
    - non Milonis in Clodium,
      - suæ gloriæ segetem. 13.
      - et materiam. 13.
  - III. Ob naturam utriusque:
    - Clodii violentam, qui
      - Ciceronem armis ex urbe ejecit. 14.
      - Hortensium penè interfecit. 14.
      - Vibienum ita multavit, ut vitam amiserit. 14.
      - Pompeio sicam intentavit. 14.
      - Papirium in viâ Appiâ occidit. 14.
      - Ciceronem necare sæpius tentavit. 14.
    - Milonis moderatam, qui
      - occasiones occidendi Clodii neglexit. 14.
      - quamvis id posset,
        - cum gloriâ. 15.
        - et impunè. 15, 16.
  - IV. Ob tempus comitiorum: quo
    - Milo timebat offensionem populi. 16.
    - Clodius quærebat liberam agendi potestatem. 16.
  - V. Ob impunitatis spem:
    - non in Milone. 16.
    - sed in Clodio. 16.
  - VI. Ob dicta Clodii: qui
    - dixit Milonem triduo periturum. 16.
    - et post diem tertium fecit insidias. 16.

- A facultate:
  - ob notitiam utriusque
    - itineris necessarii et certi Miloni. 17.
    - importuni et incerti Clodio. 18.
  - ob iter susceptum a Clodio
    - non propter nunciatam mortem Cyri. 18.
    - sed propter nunciatum adventum Milonis. 18.
  - ob locum insidiarum, a Milone non occupatum
    - prope Romam, ubi Milo latuisset. 19.
    - inter Ariciam et Clodii villam, ne ibi Clodius penetraret. 19.
- A loco pugnæ, qui
  - commodus Clodio. 20.
  - incommodus Miloni. 20.
- Ab adjunctis Milonis, qui
  - penulâ irretitus. 21.
  - rhedâ impeditus. 21.
  - uxore constrictus. 21.
- Ab adjunctis, Clodii, qui
  - sine uxore. 21.
  - sine rhedâ. 21.
  - sine Græcis comitibus. 21.
  - sine pueris symphoniacis. 21.
  - sine scortis. 21.
  - in equo, et cum selectis militibus. 21.

Confutatio Subsequens.

- I. Cur igitur victus est Clodius?
  - Ob Milonis virtutem et providentiam. 21.
  - Ob fortunæ varietatem et inconstantiam. 21.
  - Ob Clodii inscitiam,
    - pransi. 21.
    - poti.
    - oscitantis. 21.
- II. Cur manumissi Milonis servi?
  - Non metu, ne torti nocerent. 22.
  - sed ut liberi justum præmium reciperent. 22.
- III. Quæstiones de servis P. Clodii
  - productis contra legem:
    - ab accusatore. 22.
    - in dominum. 22.
  - metu suppliciorum corruptis. 22.

Redit ad Confirmationem.

- Conjecturas profert:
  - a Milonis conscientiâ,
    - redeuntis Romam
      - cum celeritate. 23.
      - animi magnitudine. 23.
      - vultûs securitate. 23.
      - orationis constantiâ. 23.
    - se tradentis omnibus: id est,
      - senatui et populo. 23.
      - militibus et Pompeio. 23.
  - a senatûs judicio,
    - probantis causam Milonis. 23.
    - cernentis facti rationem, et viri fortitudinem. 23.
  - a calumniis inimicorum, qui jactabant
    - Milonem non rediturum Romam. 24.
    - sed bellum patriæ illaturum,
      - jam paratis armis. 24
      - paratis malleolis. 24.

- Gesta expendit Pompei: quem
  - laudat a diligentiâ. 24.
  - miratur ob facilitatem.
    - audientis popam. 24.
    - et ebrios. 24.
  - ostendit, nimis credulum. 25.
  - reprehendit, nimiùm suspicacem. 25.
  - monet, pristinæ cum Milone amicitiæ,
    - a quo adjutus. 25.
    - quem adjuvit. 25.
  - docet futuram auxilii ejus necessitatem,
    - ob vitæ variam rationem. 26.
    - ob fortunæ inconstantiam. 26.
    - amicorum infidelitates. 26.
    - multorum simulationes. 26.
    - proximorum in periculis fugam. 26.
- Judices securos reddit: quòd
  - Pompeius sit peritissimus,
    - juris publici. 26.
    - moris majorum. 26.
    - reipublicæ. 26.
  - et justissimus: qui
    - vim nullam inferet. 26.
    - legem tulit, ut legitimè quæreretur. 26.
    - præsidia dedit, ut liberè judicaretur. 26.

Confirmationis Pars Altera.

Jure occidi potuisse Clodium, probat.

- Ab exemplo Romanorum: qui
  - occiderunt Sp. Melium, et Gracchum. 27.
  - igitur Milo potuit Clodium occidere, nequiorem
    - in Deos
      - Bonam Deam præcipuè. 27.
      - ac Nymphas. 27.
    - in singulos cives,
      - in sororem, quam polluit. 27.
      - in Ciceronem, quem ejecit. 27.
      - in cives Romanos:
        - quos occidit. 27.
        - aut spoliavit. 27.
  - in totam rempublicam
    - cujus familias erat turbaturus. 28.
    - jura et leges eversurus. 28.
    - felicitatem omnem impediturus. 29.
- Ab exemplo Græcorum: qui
  - honorant et laudant impiorum interfectores. 29.
  - igitur Milo honorandus et laudandus ob impii Clodii cædem. 30.
- A providentiâ Dei: qui
  - imperium Romanum et orbem regit. 31.
  - Clodium impulit, ut Milonem irritaret. 31.
  - Miloni victoriam dedit. 31.
  - Clodium honore sepulturæ privavit. 32.
- A periculo reipublicæ:
  - quam hactenus vexârat,
    - religiones polluendo. 32.
    - senatûs decreta perfringendo. 32.
    - judices corrumpendo. 32.
    - cives Romanos affligendo,
      - Ciceronem. 32.
      - Pompeium. 32.
      - alios. 32.
    - externos vexando. 32.
  - et postea erat vexaturus,
    - nemine illi resistente. 33.
    - servis ab eo libertate donatis. 33.
    - magistratibus obtentis,
      - præturâ. 33.
      - consulatu. 33, 34.

Peroratio.

Judicum implorat misericordiam,

- **A personâ Milonis:**
  - fortissimi viri. 34.
  - patriæ amantissimi. 34.
  - laboribus pro republicâ exercitatissimi. 35.
  - liberalitate spectatissimi. 35.
  - maximè amati,
    - a senatu. 35.
    - a populo. 35.
  - contenti,
    - suâ virtute. 35.
    - et gloriâ. 35.
- **A personâ suâ:**
  - maximo dolore affecti. 36.
  - nullam consolationem habentis. 36.
  - pro Milone sæpius exponentis
    - corpus, et vitam. 36.
    - bona, et fortunas. 36.
  - mortem pro ipso non recusantis. 36.
- **A personâ suorum familiarium:**
  - fortissimorum. 37.
  - fortem tueri debentium. 37.
- **A personâ**
  - liberorum. 37.
  - Quinti fratris. 37.
- **A personâ ipsius Clodii**
  - quem vivere optaret, salvo Milone. 38.
  - et fulgere in dignitate,
    - prætoris. 38.
    - consulis. 38.
    - dictatoris. 38.
- **A personâ judicum:**
  - quorum est defendere amantes patriæ. 38.
  - et liberas ferre sententias
    - cum fortitudine. 38.
    - justitiâ. 38.
    - fide. 38.

As the course of the argument in this oration is rather difficult to be understood by young students, we copy from a commentator another analysis in different terms.

The point of inquiry is, not whether Clodius was killed by Milo, for that is confessed; but whether he was not lawfully killed. This Cicero maintains in the affirmative, by laying down a general proposition, that it is lawful to kill the man who lies in wait and attempts to kill you.

This general proposition he proves,

1st, From the authority of the people, from former trials, and from the laws in being.

2ndly, From the silence of the laws passed on that occasion, either by the senate or Pompey.

Having established this general proposition, the orator proceeds to prove, that Clodius comes precisely under that description; this he does,

1st, From the advantages that were to arise to the deceased by the death of Milo.

2ndly. From the declared hatred he always expressed against Milo.

3dly. From the criminal behavior of the deceased through all the scenes of his life.

4thly, From his hopes of impunity.

And the evidence, upon which these circumstances are alleged, are the words and actions of the deceased.

The conclusion of the whole is, Milo acted on self-defence, and Clodius was lawfully killed.

Line. Page.

1. *Novi judicii nova forma:* This is called a new trial, because 100
Milo was not tried by the prætor, as was usual in criminal cases, but by a special commission and an extraordinary judge. By *nova forma* he refers to the strong guard, which Pompey brought to the trial, in order to prevent any violence.

12. *Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri:* Though Pompey was not dissatisfied with Clodius's death, or the manner of it, but pleased, rather, that the republic was freed at any rate from so pestilent a demagogue, yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had reason to apprehend no less trouble. Cicero, being sensible of this, as well as the great authority and influence of Pompey, endeavors, through the whole of this oration, to remove the effects which they might have upon the minds of the judges.

21. *Reliqua, etc.:* At this trial there were present three ranks of men; the soldiers, whom Pompey had placed there; the citizens, who waited the event of the trial; and the Clodians, who exerted themselves to procure the condemnation of Milo. The last mentioned consisted of profligate, low, and abandoned wretches, whom Clodius, by his rapines, had gained over to his interest.

29. *Hesternâ....concione:* The day before Cicero pleaded for Milo, the tribune Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear the next day in a full body, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the accused might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon as an insult upon the liberty of the bench.

1. *Quid enim nobis duobus, etc.:* Cicero here excites the compassion 101
of the judges in his own and Milo's favor, from a consideration of the services they had done the state, and the injuries they had received from the Clodians. Milo might justly claim the highest offices, on account of his merit; and accordingly had been formerly created tribune, and now stood for the consulship.

12. *T. Annii tribunatu, etc.:* Milo was a tribune the year after Clodius filled that office, and, during his tribuneship, he checked the seditions of Clodius, and exerted himself to procure the recall of Cicero from exile.

14. *Insidias Miloni a Clodio factas:* The great point which Cicero wishes to prove, is, that Clodius waylaid Milo; but while he demonstrates this, he frequently insinuates, that, if Milo had premeditated the death of Clodius, he would have deserved honors rather than punishment, for destroying so desperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome.

30. *Negant:* The Clodians asserted, that Milo deserved death for having killed a man. This assertion Cicero refutes by an argument derived from the examples of former ages of the republic, and from decisions to the contrary in parallel cases.

33. *M. Horatii:* In the 83rd year of Rome, when Tullus Hostilius was king, there was a war between the Romans and the Albans. After some success on both sides, and when the two armies were near each other, the Alban general discovered, that some of the neighbor-

101 ing nations were waiting for an engagement, which might weaken both the Romans and Albans, and that they were determined to improve the opportunity of endeavoring to conquer each of them. After this discovery he became desirous of entering into alliance with Hostilius, the king of Rome, but the parties could not agree upon the terms. While they were thus situated, the Alban general proposed, that the dispute should be settled by combat, and that three champions should be chosen from each camp. The proposal was accepted. Three brothers in each camp were selected; the Albans were named Curiatii, the Romans Horatii. Soon after the battle commenced, two of the Horatii were slain, but the third Horatius, exerting all his strength, slew the three Curiatii, and thus gained for his country an honorable victory. It happened, that the sister of Horatius was engaged in marriage to one of the young Albans, whom her brother had slain. When, therefore, her brother returned from the field, she reproached him for having slain the man whom he knew his sister loved, and exclaimed, "Thou monster of wickedness, how couldst thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations?" Horatius, still warm with slaughter, and enraged at these reproaches and the untimely grief of his sister, said, "Go then to thy lover, with thy unseasonable passion, thou, who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country. Thus let every Roman perish, who laments the death of an enemy to Rome." As he uttered these last words, he stabbed her with his sword, and, without longer stay, without sign of pity or remorse, went straight on to his father's house. His father approved of the cruel deed; and when Horatius was tried for the murder of his sister, he was acquitted by the people.

33. *Nondum liberâ civitate:* Rome was at that time under monarchical government.

39. *P. Africanum:* This was P. Scipio Nasica.

40. *Tiberii Gracchi:* See Note, page 7, line 20.

42. *Ahala....Servilius:* See Note, page 7, line 25.

43. *Opimius:* See Note, page 8, line 6.—*Marius:* See Note, page 8, line 9.—*Me consule:* When Cicero was consul, Lentulus, Cethegus and others were put to death, by order of the senate.

102 2. *Qui patris:* Cicero refers to the story of Orestes, who killed his mother Clytemnestra, for having imbrued her hands in the blood of Agamemnon, his father. When he was tried, the judges were divided in opinion, upon which an appeal being made to the gods, he was acquitted by Minerva.

5. *Duodecim Tabulæ:* The laws of the Twelve Tables were enacted by the Decemviri, and engraved on twelve plates of brass. The law relative to theft declared, that, if a theft was committed in the night time, the person committing it might be lawfully killed.

13. *Pudicitiam, etc.:* This military tribune was C. Lucius, the nephew of Marius. Trebonius, a private soldier, to save his honor, put this infamous Lucius to death. When Trebonius was summoned before Marius, the general not only acquitted him, but bestowed an honorary crown or garland, as a reward of his virtue.

41. *Senatum judicâsse, etc.:* Because the senate had passed two decrees relative to the murder of Clodius, one of which declared, that it was an act against the commonwealth; the other, that Pompey should take care, that the republic should receive no detriment, and for that purpose should raise a body of troops; but Cicero says these decrees did not imply, that Milo was criminal in the opinion

of the senate, because the murder of Clodius was committed in self- 102
defence, to which every man had a natural right.

4. *Ambusti tribuni plebis:* The epithet *ambusti* was applied to Mu- 103
natius Plancus, because he instigated and assisted the people to burn the court, and the desks, seats, tables, and books in the Forum.—*Intermortuæ conciones:* These short-lived harangues, by asserting that the senate was under the control of Cicero, implied, that the senate decreed nothing against Milo; which contradiction to the assertions of the other enemies of Milo, Cicero here notices.

13. *Hanc questionem:* "This extraordinary trial."

17. *Incesto stupro:* The word *incestus* was used by the Romans in relation not only to a kinswoman, but also to a vestal virgin, or any female immediately employed in performing the rites and ceremonies of religion. It is therefore properly applied to Clodius in relation to Cæsar's wife, while she was engaged in celebrating the mysteries of *Bona Dea.*

18. *Potestas esset erepta:* When the affair of Clodius's polluting the mysteries of *Bona Dea* was brought before the senate, it was resolved to refer it to the college of priests, who declared it to be an abominable impiety; upon which the consuls were ordered to provide a law for bringing Clodius to trial. But Q. Fusius Calenus, one of the tribunes, supported by all the Clodian faction, would not permit the law to be offered to the suffrages of the citizens. The affair being likely to produce great disorders, Hortensius proposed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the tribune Fusius should publish a law for the trial of Clodius by the prætor, with a select bench of judges. The consequence was, that by bribery a majority of the judges were induced to acquit Clodius, and he thus escaped with impunity.

29. *Appiâ: Viâ* understood. Cicero here artfully insinuates, that, though the senate had found the fray upon the Appian Way to be an act of treason against the commonwealth, yet that Milo could never be affected by that decree, because, says he, it was the violence, that constituted the treason. Now Clodius, the aggressor, was the author of the violence, and not Milo, to whom the principles of self-defence, without any regard to the consequences, gave a right to preserve his own life.

32. *Quòd si, etc.:* Had not the senate been controlled by the tribune Munatius Plancus, they would have decreed, that Milo should be tried in the usual form, and he probably would have been acquitted.

36. *Divisa sententia:* When any opinion, proposed to the senate, was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require that it might be divided. This was the case with the first decree relative to the death of Clodius; it contained three distinct charges; it declared that the death of Clodius, the burning of the court, and the attack upon Lepidus's house, were acts hostile to the commonwealth. Neither party would agree to this decree entirely; the enemies of Milo therefore obtained a new decree, that there should be a special trial of the author of Clodius's death.

36. *Postulante nescio quo:* This was Q. Fusius, a senator, whom Munatius Plancus had corrupted by bribery. Cicero does not name him, because he was in the senate.

44. *Quòd nisi vidisset, etc.:* Cicero well knew of what great authority Pompey's opinion would be in this trial. He therefore, with-

103 great address, insinuates, that he was a friend to Milo, when he knew him to be an enemy.

104 2. *Salutarem....literam, etc.:* This alludes to the manner of giving judgment among the Romans. The judges had each a tablet covered with wax, upon which they wrote the letter *A*, if they meant to acquit; *C*, if they condemned; and *N. L.* that is, *Non liquet*, if the cause appeared doubtful. These tables were delivered to the proper officer, who put them into an urn; and, after sorting them, declared the majority.

14. *M. Drusus:* Marcus Livius Drusus, who, by Velleius Patercûlus the historian, is styled a man most brave, most eloquent and powerful, and who, according to Plutarch, was a leading man in the senate, when he saw the whole senate groaning under the popular laws of Tiberius Gracchus, conceived a design of restoring it to its former dignity, and recovering its wonted authority, which was now lodged in the equestrian order. The better to carry on his design, he prĕtended to be in the interest of the people, and promised to bestow the liberty of the city upon all the Latins; which, when he delayed to do, they demanded, in a very sharp manner, that he would perform his promise. At length, when the people understood that he had played the hypocrite with them, an unknown party of them slew him in his own house.

17. *P. Africano:* Publius Africanus Minor, opposing the Triumviri, Caius Gracchus, Lucius Fulvius, and Cneius Carbo, for making an attempt to divide the public lands and put in effect an Agrarian law, was found dead in his chamber in the morning, though the day before, he attended a meeting of the senate. There was no search made to discover who were his murderers. But, notwithstanding that this story is related by many ancient authors, Velleius Patercûlus says, that, from the variety of reports concerning Africanus's decease, it is most probable that he died a natural death.

32. *M. Papirium:* Clodius, by a stratagem, had got into his hands the son of king Tigrānes, whom Pompey brought with him from the East, and kept a prisoner at Rome, in the custody of Flavius the prætor; and, instead of delivering him up, when Pompey demanded him, undertook, for a large sum of money, to give him his liberty, and send him home. This occasioned a sharp engagement between him and Flavius, who marched out of Rome, with a body of men well armed, to recover the son of Tigranes by force. Clodius, however, proved too strong for him, and killed a great part of his company; and, among them, M. Papirius, an intimate acquaintance of Pompey, while Flavius himself had some difficulty to escape with life.

39. *Templo Castoris:* This temple was contiguous to the Forum and senate-house. It was built by Posthumius in honor of Castor and Pollux, who were said to have appeared during the battle of Regillus upon white horses; to have marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, striking terror among the Latins; and in the evening after the battle, to have carried the first news of the victory to Rome.

105 9. *Quoties, etc.:* The cause of the enmity of Clodius towards Cicero has already been mentioned. See the Introduction to this oration.

14. *Sed stulti sumus, etc.:* The student will easily perceive the irony of this sentence.

23. *Fuisse sibi illum inimicum:* Pompey was afterwards reconciled to Clodius, because Clodius took his part, and wore his ordinary

dress, when the senate decreed a public mourning, because they could not prevent Pompey and Crassus from soliciting the consulship a second time. 105

28. *Florentissimis ordinibus:* From the senatorial and equestrian ranks.

39. *L. Domiti:* Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus was president of this trial. It formerly happened, when Cneius Manlius seditiously enacted a law, declaring that the freedmen of every tribe should be vested with a power of voting, and had forcibly taken possession of the Capitol, that this Domitius drove him from it, and slew many of his followers.

15. *L. Paulum:* Lucius Paulus, says Cicero (*in Vatinium*), was a man designed by nature for supporting and defending the common wealth. Clodius refused him as his colleague, on account of his spotless honor and untainted character. 106

21. *Plenum annum:* After the Comitia for electing magistrates had, by the intrigues of the factious, been postponed for a full half year, Clodius withdrew his claim, and waited till the next election, that he might have a whole year to exercise his authority and effect his designs.

24. *Ejus competitores:* The competitors of Milo were Publius Plautius Hypsæus and Quintus Metellus Scipio, who were not only profuse in bribes, but were also supported by armed factions.

36. *Apennino:* The Apennine mountains are about six hundred miles in length, and divide Italy.

45. *Lanuvium:* Lanuvium was a free borough, about twelve miles distant from Rome, and is, by Appian, said to have been built by Diomēdes upon his landing in Italy after the siege of Troy. In it was the famous temple of *Juno Sospes;* to officiate in which temple a priest was yearly appointed by the dictator.

4. *Concionem turbulentam:* The same day that Clodius was killed, Caius Sallustius and Quintus Pompeius, tribunes of the people, and enemies to Milo, held and harangued a tumultuous assembly of their partisans. From this meeting Clodius abruptly departed. 107

9. *Calceos:* The shoes were a distinguishing mark of a senator, and part of his senatorial dress.

14. *Nullis Græcis comitibus:* The richer class of the Romans, when they travelled, were for the most part accompanied by some Græcians, who were either musicians for their diversion, or philosophers for their improvement and instruction.

14. *Uxore:* The wife of Clodius was Fulvia, who was afterwards married to Mark Antony; she bore such enmity to Cicero, that, after he was dead, she spit upon his head, and thrust her bodkin through his tongue.

16. *Uxore:* Milo's wife was Fausta, daughter of Sulla, the dictator.

19. *Horâ....undecimâ:* The Romans reckoned twelve hours from the rising to the setting sun. These hours varied in their length with the season of the year. The eleventh hour in winter corresponded with half past 3 o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning time.

17. *Hic:* Milo.—*Illi:* Clodius. 108

23. *Cassianum:* Cassius, says Asconius, was a man of uncommon severity; and always, when he was examining, inquired "which of the parties would be benefited" by the matter in question. The terms of this saying of Cassius are often wrongly translated by "Of what advantage would it be?" as if *cui* agreed with *bono;* whereas

108 these words are separately governed in the dative by *fuerit*, according to the rule, "*Sum* taken for *affero*, 'to bring,' governs two datives." The popular use of the phrase *Cui bono?* for "To *what* good end?" "Of *what* advantage," &c., is therefore not founded in propriety; it should only be used where it may be translated by "who or what will be benefited?"

39. *Sexte Clodi:* This Sextus Clodius was a kinsman of Clodius, and, according to Asconius, brought the body of Clodius into the senate-house.

41. *Palladium:* The *Palladium* was a wooden image of Pallas, which the Trojans imagined had fallen from heaven into an uncovered temple. Upon consulting the oracle, they were told, that Troy should be safe so long as it remained there. Some think, that Diomĕdes, others, that Ulysses, carried it off: what was supposed to be the same image was lodged in the temple of Vesta, and rescued from the flames of that edifice by Metellus, the high priest.

109 2. *Cùm omnia omnibus minabatur:* Sextus Clodius was a secretary of Publius Clodius, and a minister of his fury.

3. *Lumen curiæ:* "The *light* of the court." A pun on Sextus, who set fire to the Forum, in burning the body of Clodius.

7. *Spoliatum imaginibus, etc.:* We are told by Pliny, that the halls of the great men among the Romans were adorned with waxen images of their deceased friends, and that, when any of the family was to be buried, these images were carried in the procession.—*Laudatione:* This word also refers to a custom among the Romans; when any one of an illustrious family died, one of the friends was elected to pronounce an eulogium on his worth.

8. *Infelicissimis lignis semiustulatum:* These words refer to Clodius's body being burnt with the desks, tables, etc. in the Forum. The word *infelicissimis* is used, because, at the funerals of great men, amomum, balsam, etc. were used.—*Canibus dilaniandum:* Sextus Clodius was obliged to leave the body half burned, on account of the danger of the fire, which prevented him from rescuing it from the flames.

15. *Eum Milonem, etc.:* The well-disposed part of the people wished Milo to be consul, because he alone could restrain the seditions of Clodius.

33. *Ille, erat, ut odisset:* Cicero here assigns the reasons why Clodius hated Milo; the first was, because Milo, when he was tribune of the people, exerted himself to have Cicero recalled from banishment; the second, because, when Clodius endeavored to execute some of his factious designs, Milo prevented him; the third, because Milo had brought an accusation against him.

36. *Lege Plotiâ:* This law was enacted by P. Plautius, tribune of the people, in the year of Rome 675, against those who attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence to the magistrates, or appeared armed in public upon any ill design, or forcibly expelled any person from his lawful possession. The punishment assigned to the convicted was *aquæ et ignis interdictio*.

37. *Tyrannum:* Clodius.

43. *Urbe cessi:* It has already been observed, that the laws and violence of Clodius drove Cicero into exile.—*Non servos, non arma, non vim:* When Cicero found himself reduced to the condition of a criminal by one of Clodius's laws, he changed his habit, as was usual in the case of a public impeachment, and went about the

streets in a sordid mourning gown, to excite the compassion of his fellow-citizens; whilst Clodius, at the head of his mob, contrived to meet and insult him at every turn, reproaching him for his cowardice and dejection, and throwing dirt and stones at him. 109

3. *Mihi videlicet, etc.:* This is irony. 110

5. *Servorum et egentium:* Many of Cicero's friends advised him, before he went into banishment, to try his fate in arms against Clodius; but, having the welfare and happiness of his fellow-citizens at heart, he resolved rather to banish himself than expose them to danger.

8. *Q. Hortensium:* When Cicero was banished, the senate passed an order to go into mourning on account of his banishment, and, in some exertions made to induce Clodius to throw off his military robes and appear in a plain dress, according to the resolve of the senators, a tumult took place, in which Hortensius was wounded. For the character of Hortensius, see Note, page 56, line 21.

10. *C. Vibienus:* This senator also was wounded in the tumult.

11. *Multatus:* i. e. injured.

12. *A Catilinâ:* Clodius was a friend of Catiline.

14. *Insidiata Pompeio:* Cicero has mentioned before in this oration, that Clodius had placed in ambuscade an assassin to kill Pompey. The orator took care not to let the judges or Pompey forget this circumstance, and, by reminding them of it, he hoped to persuade the judges, that Pompey could not be so great a friend to Clodius as he was supposed to be.

16. *Nece Papirii:* See Note, page 104, line 32.

17. *Nuper quidem, etc.:* It is not easy to determine on what occasion it was, that Clodius made this attack upon Cicero. Asconius imagines, that it was in the consulship of Domitius and Messala, when the parties of Hypsæus and Milo fought in the Sacred Way, and several were killed on the side of Milo.

25. *P. Sextio:* Sextius was a tribune of the people; and was attacked and wounded by the Clodians, because he gave his vote for Cicero's return from exile. In an oration for Sextius, Cicero says, that magistrate received twenty wounds, and escaped death by feigning to be dead.

25. *Q. Fabricio:* Fabricius held the office of tribune at the same time Sextius did, and was treated by the party of Clodius in the same manner, when he attempted to aid the law passed for Cicero's return.

29. *Cùm totius Italiæ:* All Italy expressed the greatest joy at Cicero's return, and conferred upon him the highest honors.

31. *Eam laudem:* The glory of having put Clodius to death.

34. *P. Lentulus:* Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was a great friend to Cicero, and in whose consulship Cicero was recalled.

36. *Septem prætores:* All the prætors and eight of the tribunes were in favor of Cicero's being recalled from exile.

37. *Cn. Pompeius:* Pompey, Marcus Crassus, and Julius Cæsar all envied the superior glory Cicero had acquired by putting an end to the conspiracy of Catiline; for which reason Pompey suffered him to be banished by Clodius, when he might easily have prevented it. But when Pompey understood that the senators and all the Roman knights were angry with him for neglecting to succor a man to whom both they and he had been so much obliged, and when he saw that the same danger threatened him from Clodius, he made a motion in the senate to recall Cicero (though the Clodian

110 law had expressly forbidden any prætor, tribune, or any person whatever to do so), and made mention of his character with the greatest reverence and honor.

38. *Illius hostis:* Cicero again reminds the judges that Pompey had been an enemy to Clodius.

41. *Decretum Capuæ:* Pompey presided in person when the inhabitants of Capua, where he had planted a colony, made a decree to Cicero's honor; he took the trouble likewise to visit all the other colonies and chief towns in these parts, to appoint them a day of general rendezvous at Rome, to assist in the promulgation of the law for Cicero's return.

111 4. *Reo:* When Milo was accused by Clodius of some public misdemeanor, he was defended by Pompey, who, when he began to speak, was interrupted by the adherents of Clodius. Not content with drowning his voice by the loudness of their clamors, they continued, during the whole time he was speaking, to attack him with reproaches and the most abusive language. Pompey, however, neither was frightened, nor ceased to speak; but spoke in Milo's favor six hours without intermission.

8. *M. Antonius:* Mark Antony pursued Clodius with a design to kill him, which he in reality would have done, had not Clodius taken shelter in a bookseller's shop, and concealed himself beneath a dark staircase. This was the same Antony who afterwards waged a civil war against Augustus. He was at first a great friend to Cicero, but afterwards became his enemy, and at last proved the author of his death.

10. *Illam belluam:* Clodius.

16. *Septa:* "Enclosures," in which the people stood, when the Comitia were held.

33. *Candidatorum:* This sentence is fraught with instruction for the ambitious. *Candidatus* was a term applied to those who sought magistracies in Rome; they were dressed in white robes, to distinguish them from other people; they derived their appellation from the word *candidus*, "white."

37. *Augusta ...auspicia:* Sacred rites were performed before the elections commenced.

44. *Contempserat:* Alluding to his bribing the judges, when he was tried for having profaned the mysteries of the Good Goddess.

112 15. *Mercenario tribuno plebis:* This tribune was Quintus Pompeius, who called a tumultuous assembly on the day in which Clodius was killed, and pronounced severe invectives against Milo and Cicero.

25. *T. Patinam:* Titus Patina resided at Lanuvium, and was an intimate acquaintance of Clodius.

32. *Interamnas:* This adjective is formed from *Interamna*, the name of a city of Umbria, and was so called because it was situated *between* two *rivers*.

35. *Albano:* Alba was so called from Ascanius's having there found a *white* sow, according to the prediction mentioned by Virgil. See the Æneid, book III. line 389th, and the following.

36. *Cyrum:* Cicero speaks of this Cyrus, the architect, in his letters to Atticus; but we have no account of his history.

38. *C. Clodius:* This was the brother of Clodius, and, Asconius relates, his two sons were the accusers of Milo.

113 1. *Majoris alicujus:* Cicero himself, upon whom these words were bestowed, because, as he had been consul, he was before Milo in dignity.

2. *Abjecti homines:* Q. Pompeius and C. Sallustius, enemies of Cicero. 113

14. *Testamentum, etc.:* To make wills valid in Rome, it was requisite that there should be seven witnesses present; then the heirs signed and sealed the testament.

15. *Horâ tertiâ*: About nine in the morning.

16. *Horâ decimâ:* About four in the afternoon.

30. *Receptator locus:* In the Appian Way there stood a tomb of one Basilius, a very rich man; this place was famous for the many murders committed near it.

32. *Illo:* Clodius.

34. *Etruria:* Clodius had often appeared in arms to banish the Etrurians from their possessions. Etruria lies upon the Tuscan sea, and reaches to the Tiber.—*Ariciâ:* Aricia was a town of Latium, on the Appian Way.

28. *Id....temporis:* The month of February. 114

30. *Alsiensi:* Alsium was a town situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

35. *Comites Græculi:* These were Asiatic servants, employed in ministering to the pleasures of their master.—*In castra Etrusca:* Cicero frequently charges Clodius with having had a share in Catiline's conspiracy, and to this he refers in this passage. Asconius relates, that Clodius left Rome in order to join the camp of Catiline, when it lay at Fesulæ in Tuscany; but after he had set out, he repented, and returned to the city.

43. *Mulier inciderat in viros:* Cicero calls Clodius a woman, because, being very effeminate, he might easily be conquered by Milo.

14. *Manumisit:* The ceremony of manumission was thus perform- 115
ed; the slave was brought before the prætor by his master, who, laying his hand upon his servant's head, said to the prætor, "I will that this man be free;" and having said this, he let him go out of his hands, which they termed *e manu emittere*. Then the prætor, laying a rod upon his head, called *vindicta*, said, *Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritium*, and the servant was from that time called *manumitted*, or freedman.

19. *Equuleo:* The *equuleus* was a kind of racking engine in the form of a horse, used by the Romans for the purpose of extorting the truth from their servants, or from malefactors.

31. *Crudelissimi inimici:* Clodius.

37. *Quæstiones, etc.:* According to the Roman law, manumitted servants could not be interrogated upon the rack. Appius Clodius, son of Caius Clodius, brother of Publius Clodius, demanded that his uncle's servants should be interrogated in that manner.

38. *Atrio Libertatis:* Near the temples were halls, where courts often sat, and the senate was held, because it was reckoned unlawful for it to meet in any other than a holy place. The ancient Romans worshipped Liberty as a goddess; and to this deity Sempronius Gracchus, the founder of the Gracchian race, caused a temple to be erected out of the money raised by fines.

42. *Propiùs quàm tum:* Cicero refers to Clodius's polluting the mysteries of the Good Goddess.

8. *Quid hâc, etc.:* This is ironical. 116

10. *Centum dies:* A hundred days had elapsed since the death of Clodius.

18. *Celeritas reditûs:* Milo returned to Rome in the night on which

116 the court was burnt, although many thought he had gone into voluntary banishment.

20. *Neque verò, etc.:* The Roman people sometimes passed sentence, as in the case of Rabirius, found guilty of high treason. The senate judged in cases of a more atrocious nature, as in that of the Catilinarian conspirators. The consuls also were vested with an extraordinary power, when, by the decree of the senate, they were commanded to see that the republic received no detriment.

23. *Ejus potestati:* Cicero here means Pompey, to whom the senate gave an unlimited commission to protect the republic either from the power of Milo, or from the factions of the friends of Clodius.

117 1. *Illa portenta:* Those wicked characters, who were united with Catiline in the conspiracy.

13. *Sparorum, etc.:* The *sparus* was a kind of javelin. The *pila* of the Romans were of two kinds; the one was seven feet and a half long, and the iron of it weighed nine ounces; the other was only three feet and a half long, and its weight proportionable.

15. *Vicum, etc.:* According to Varro, there were three kinds of streets in the city of Rome; the *vici*, the *fundulæ*, and the *angiporti*: the *vici* were the chief streets, open at both ends; the *fundulæ* were open at one end and closed at the other, like what are called *courts* in populous cities; the *angiporti* were lanes or alleys, so narrow that they admitted only people to walk in them, wagons and carriages of all kinds being too large to enter them.

17. *Ocriculanam:* This was a city of Umbria toward Etruria, near the Tiber, in which Milo had a house.

18. *Malleolorum: Malleŏli* were small bundles of broom covered with pitch; which, being kindled, were thrown on the walls or roofs of houses.

24. *Popa:* This was a term of reproach among the Romans. The *popa* was the priest, or butcher, who slew the sacrifices, and offered them up when slain. His duty was also to purify the houses in which any one had died.

38. *Tam celebri loco:* Cæsar, from the time he was made Pontifex Maximus, lived in a large house in the *Via Sacra*, which was not far from the Forum.

42. *Senator:* Asconius says this senator was P. Cornificius, and that, when Cicero heard this feeble charge against Milo, he exclaimed, "And such are all the crimes of which Milo is accused."

43. *Templo:* i. e. the senate, which always assembled in a consecrated building.

118 4. *Tuas....suspiciones:* Pompey pretended to fear, that Milo would injure him, and to suspect that Milo had designs hostile to the republic. The reason which induced him to practise this hypocrisy, has been already suggested; he wished to remove a rival, and therefore was willing Milo should be condemned.

8. *Capitolinæ cohortes:* Cohorts were placed in the Capitol for the safety and defence of the city, when there was a prospect of sedition.

119 3. *Legem tulit:* Pompey published a law, that an inquiry concerning the death of Clodius should be made.

11. *Hesternam concionem:* It has already been mentioned, that the day before this oration was delivered, Munatius Plancus, tribune of the people, held a tumultuous assembly of the people, in which he advised them to appear at the trial, and not permit Milo to be acquitted; to prevent which invasion of the judges' rights, Pompey placed a body of guards near the tribunal.

18. *Sp. Melium....Ti. Gracchum:* It has already been related, that Spurius Melius was slain by Servilius Ahala for having endeavored to obtain the sovereignty by buying up all the corn that was to be purchased, and distributing it among the people, when provisions were very dear; and that Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Gracchus, because he deposed his colleague for opposing him, when he moved that an Agrarian law should be passed. 119

24. *Pulvinaribus:* In the most retired and sacred places of the temples there were little beds for the images of the gods to rest upon.

28. *Lucullus*, being summoned as a witness with regard to the life of Clodius, said, that he had extorted a confession from his maid-servants, that Clodius had committed incest. Lucullus himself was married to a sister of Clodius.

32. *Ademit:* Clodius enacted a law against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to deprive him of his kingdom, and reduce it to a Roman province, and confiscate his whole estate. This prince was brother to the king of Egypt, and reigned by the same right of hereditary succession; was in peace and amity with Rome, accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs, against the republic. But Clodius was inimical to him, because he refused to ransom him, when he was taken prisoner by the pirates, and sent him only the small sum of two talents. To sanction this iniquitous law, and give it the better face and color of justice, Cato was charged with the execution of it, which gave Clodius a double pleasure, by imposing such a task on the gravest man in Rome.

36. *Ædem Nympharum:* A temple was erected in Rome to the nymphs presiding over fountains, that they might be propitious in preventing fires; which temple was burnt by Clodius.—*Ut memoriam....extingueret:* Every five years the censors used to take an account of the several tribes, and to make up a register, in which the crimes of all the citizens were marked; and as Clodius knew, that his enormous crimes were recorded in the public acts, he burned the temple in which they were kept, that the remembrance of his wicked deeds might be lost.

2. *Janiculo....Alpibus:* Janiculum was formerly a town of Etruria, on the banks of the Tiber. The Alps are a ridge of high mountains, separating Italy from France. 120

4. *Lacu Prelio:* This lake is between Rome and Viterbium.

8. *T. Furfanio:* This was a friend of Cicero.

12. *Mortuum, etc.:* Clodius threatened to convey a dead body into Furfanius's house, with the view of bringing him under the suspicion of having committed murder; or perhaps his design was to make him thereby lose the right and property of his house; because, by a dead body's being brought into any house, it became sacred, and the proprietor was obliged to abandon all his title to it.

14. *Appium fratrem:* Appius, brother of Publius Clodius, was a friend of Cicero, as may be conjectured from Cicero's having written several letters to him.

16. *Vestibulum:* A plot of ground before the door of any house, through which an avenue led to the house itself.

26. *Tetrarchas:* One who reigned over the fourth part of a kingdom.

2. *Summorum imperatorum:* Sulla and Marius lived in that age. 121

10. *Consule:* Pompey.

42. *Res divinas:* Statues, monuments, columns, etc. erected in honor of the gods.

122 21. *Ausus essem:* Alluding to Catiline's conspiracy.

30. *Nosmet ipsi:* Referring to his having put to death Lentŭlus Cethĕgus, and other members of Catiline's conspiracy.

33. *Fortuna populi Romani:* Plutarch observes, that the beginning and increase of the Roman empire was owing to fortune; and that, on that account, the Romans erected many temples to her.

123 14. *Albani tumuli:* These were little hills or rising spots, on which altars were erected to certain deities; or they were the sepulchres and monuments of the inhabitants of Alba, who had been buried there, before the building of the city.

15. *Sacrorum, etc.:* Cicero refers to the rites, which were common to all the people of Latium with the Romans. They were at first instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, who, in order to keep the Latin association firm to their engagements with him, erected a new temple in the midst of them to Jupiter Latialis, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, where the diets of the united cantons were annually to assemble on the twenty-seventh day of April, which were called *feriæ Latinæ*, and jointly offer sacrifices to Jupiter, and feast together in token of union.

29. *Absolutus:* It has already been mentioned, that by bribery Clodius obtained an acquittance when he was tried by select judges for the violation of the mysteries of *Bona Dea*.

32. *Imaginibus....cantu:* At the funerals of the Romans, images were carried in the procession, and hymns were sung.

33. *Ludis:* The Romans imagined that the ghosts of the deceased were satisfied and rendered propitious by human blood. At first, they used to buy captives, or untoward slaves, and offer them at the obsequies. Afterwards they attempted to veil their barbarity with a show of pleasure and voluntary combat. They therefore educated such persons as they had procured, in a knowledge of arms, and obliged them, upon the day appointed for the sacrifices to the departed ghosts, to maintain a mortal encounter at the tombs of their friends. Hence arose the gladiatorial shows, which were exhibited at the tombs of great men to appease their *manes*.

33. *Laudationibus:* Upon the death of an eminent citizen, a funeral oration was usually delivered.

44. *Vexărat in tribunatu:* When Clodius was tribune, that he might more effectually injure Cicero, he decreed the provinces to Gabinius and Piso, contrary to the authority of the senate.

124 1. *Gesta resciderat:* Though the putting of Catiline's accomplices to death was not done by Cicero's authority, but by a general vote of the senate, and after a serious debate, yet Clodius pretended it was illegal; and, accordingly, passed a law importing, "that whoever had taken the life of a citizen uncondemned and without trial, should be prohibited from fire and water."

3. *Cn. Pompeio....bellum indixerat:* Alluding to Clodius's having placed an assassin in the temple of Castor to murder Pompey.

8. *Incidebantur:* Clodius wished to pass a law, granting the power of voting to all the freedmen in the city. This law, with some others, Clodius had engraved on a plate of brass, as was usual at that time.

17. *Huic:* Milo.

23. *Habuisset suos consules:* Clodius wished, that Hypsæus and Scipio might be elected consuls.

24. *Quem tribunum, virum consularem:* When Clodius was tribune, he much oppressed Cicero, a man of consular rank.

31. *Hæc templa:* The senate-house and Forum. 124

37. *Portum:* Foreign kings and nations fled to the Romans for safety and protection, and appealed to them, as the arbitrators of all their differences.

1. *Viâ Appiâ:* In the Appian Way Clodius was slain. 125

6. *Falcibus:* The *falces* of the Romans were military instruments, crooked like a reaper's hook, and used on two occasions; in pulling the stones out of the walls of a besieged city, and in cutting the tackle of the enemy's ships.

8. *Cùm audiretur....M. Cœlius:* As Milo returned to Rome the same night on which the senate-house was set on fire, Cœlius, a tribune of the people, having called an assembly of those who favored Milo, related in an oration all the crimes of which Clodius had been guilty; upon which the other tribunes rushed into the Forum with a body of armed men, and would have killed both Cœlius and Milo, had they not dressed themselves like slaves, and, by that means, made their escape.

10. *In susceptâ causâ firmissimus:* This Cœlius vigorously opposed a law, which Pompey made, and which had no other view than to injure Milo, and force a verdict from the judges before they had maturely considered the merits of the case.

40. *Ego, cùm, tribunus plebis, etc.:* Cicero refers to the time when he was recalled from banishment. Milo exerted himself in his favor, as did also the senate, against the tribunes of the people, who were in part opposed to his return.

4 *Tui:* Cicero at first was of the equestrian order, afterwards of 126 the senatorian.

14. *Tribus suis patrimoniis:* Milo had three estates; one left him by his father, one by his mother, the third by Caius Annius, his grandfather, by whom he was adopted. All three he spent in gifts to the people, and public sports, for which he was charged with bribery, and condemned when absent. Cicero says, these largesses were bestowed upon the people with no other design, but that the rich might not be robbed.

21. *Vocem præconis:* Although the greater part of the voters knew who would be consul, yet a public crier was appointed to name him with an audible voice, and extol his character.

42. *Etruriæ festos:* The inhabitants of Etruria were so inimical to Clodius, on account of some injuries he had done them, that when they heard of his death, they appointed festivals in honor of Milo.

21. *Inimicitias potentium:* So great was Cicero's friendship for 127 Milo, that neither the threats of the Clodian faction nor Pompey's inimical disposition toward Milo could deter him from making this defence.

22. *Armis:* In assisting Milo to obtain the consulship, Cicero often exposed himself to the attacks of Clodius.

11. *Illa indicia, etc.:* The conspiracy of Catiline. 128

13. *Ex fonte illo dolores:* Clodius became the enemy of Milo, because Milo made great exertions to have Cicero recalled from banishment.

24. *Inquit:* Milo speaks.

38. Notwithstanding the defence of Cicero, Milo was condemned, and, a few days after his condemnation, went in exile to Marseilles.

ORATION AGAINST M. ANTONY.

INTRODUCTION.

After the assassination of Julius Cæsar by Brutus and Cassius, there were many parties and tumults in Rome. The conspirators, having no design beyond the death of the despot, were undecided respecting the measures they should take, and neglected to pursue those means, which were necessary to reëstablish the liberties of the republic. Mark Antony, who, during the last year of Cæsar's life, was his colleague in the consulship, at first imagined himself in danger, and began to fortify his house; but, observing the indecision and pacific conduct of the authors of Cæsar's death, he recovered his spirits, and resolved to usurp the government as soon as he was able, and, on pretence of avenging the murder of his colleague, to destroy all who should oppose him. To execute this design, he pretended to have no other desire, than to see the republic settled upon its old basis. He assumed the appearance of goodness and moderation; talked of nothing but conciliating measures; and, as a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the conspirators should be invited to take part in the public deliberations, and sent his son as a hostage for their safety. The invitation was accepted; Brutus supped with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony; the day was closed with joy and rejoicing, and the city thought that liberty would be secured with peace. On pretence of public concord, however, Antony proposed and carried several things, of which he afterwards made a very pernicious use; particularly a decree for a confirmation of all Cæsar's acts. The people soon saw for what end he had provided this decree, to which the senate consented for the sake of peace. Antony, being master of Cæsar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written, forged and inserted at pleasure whatever he thought would be of use to him, and publicly sold for money whatever immunities were desired by countries, cities, princes, or private men, pretending that they had been granted by Cæsar, and inserted in his books. These, and several other instances of his duplicity and violence, convinced the conspirators, that no good was to be expected from him, or a senate which was under his influence.

About this time, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, being alarmed by these violences, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Cæsar, intended to withdraw into Greece, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Cæsar's consent and the leave of the senate for that purpose. On Cæsar's death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but, being now satisfied that these hopes were vain, he resumed his former design of absenting himself; and instead of applying to the senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly-appointed governor of Syria, a commission of lieutenancy, which he was to employ as a pretence for crossing the Ionian sea. Having passed through Rhegium, on

the sixth of August, in continuing his voyage to Greece, some circumstances obliged him to put back; and when he reëntered the city, he met some citizens, just arrived from Rome, who brought a report, that a full meeting of the senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that, as the cause of the republic had so favorable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence earnestly desired. Though Cicero was not greatly encouraged by these reports, he determined to return to Rome; and, having arrived on the last of August, he found that the expectations, which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions, were void of foundation, and that the outrages he was likely to commit were such as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come into his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression, he burst into a rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears, the ordinary method of forcing those to submission who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the sentence of the law. He was dissuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and, being himself absent from the senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the consul, delivered that oration, which is entitled the First Philippic. In this speech, he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present consul. Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the reports he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks, thus made in the absence of the parties, produced from Cicero the following famous oration, which is entitled the Second Philippic, "a model of eloquence," says a Roman historian, "in the style of ancient invective;" but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his presence, never was delivered, and is to be considered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious case. The offence, however, which was given by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue till it ended with Cicero's life. These orations were called *Philippics*, in imitation of the famous orations delivered by Demosthenes, the celebrated Athenian orator, against Philip, king of Macedonia; the second was written in the 63d year of Cicero's age, and the 709th from the building of the city.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. { Conqueritur de illatis sibi injuriis { ab hostibus reipublicæ. / ab Antonio præsertim.
Causas aperit cur ab Antonio vexetur.

Refutatio.
- Quòd injuriâ affecerit Antonium.
  - beneficio sit affectus ab Antonio.
  - in consulatu peccaverit.
  - ejus consilio sit occisus Clodius.
  - belli civilis causa fuerit.
  - conjuratos impulerit ad occidendum Cæsarem.
  - Pompeium læserit.
  - odiosus omnibus, a nullo sit hæres factus.

Insectatio.
- Vita Antonii privata:
  - in pueritiâ egentissima.
  - in adolescentiâ turpissima.
- Vita publica:
  - in quæsturâ.
  - in præturâ.
  - in magisterio equitum.
- Ante consulatum:
  - bello Cæsaris Africano defuit.
  - et bello Hispaniensi.
- In consulatu:
  - vivo Cæsare
    - Dolabellæ comitia disturbavit.
    - Cæsari diadema regium obtulit.
  - mortuo Cæsare
    - fugit, ob timorem.
    - dum timuit, præclara gessit.
    - dum timere desiit, omnia perturbavit.

Peroratio.
- Antonium deterret a tyrannide, et hortatur ad reipublicæ curam.
- Seipsum offert ad reipublicæ defensionem.

Analysis Exordii.

- Conquestione continuarum molestiarum: cùm
  - ab omnibus reipublicæ hostibus impetatur. 1.
  - præsertim ab Antonio, quem nunquam læsit. 1.
- Causarum inquisitione cur ab Antonio vexetur:
  - falsas rejicit:
    - contemptum. 1.
    - desiderium. 1.
    - voluntatem contendendi. 1.
  - veras declarat.
    - declarationem hostilis animi in patriam. 1.
    - inimicitias in ejus conservatorem susceptas.

Refutatio.

- I. Quòd in judicio, contra socerum ejus contenderit. *Resp.*
  - id factum, pro familiari et necessario. 2.
  - contra gratiam, et injuriam. 2.
- Licèt Antonius se in Ciceronis disciplinam tradidisset: *Resp.*
  - id negando. 2.
  - et eum graviter pungendo. 2.
- II. Quòd augurem loco suo fieri passus sit. *Resp.*
  - augurem se a toto collegio expetitum. 2.
  - Antonio tunc non patuisse ad auguratum viam. 2

Eique vitam non eripuerit. *Resp.*
- negando eripere potuisse. 3.
- concedendo: sed gratum se fuisse. 3.
- Antonium verè inhumanum, stultum, amentem. 4.

III. Quòd consulatum malè gesserit. *Resp.*
- senatus eum, pro voluntate suâ, direxit. 5.
- Clodius solus improbavit. 5.
- viri clarissimi laudaverunt:
  - mortui,
    - P. Servilius. 5.
    - Q. Catulus, &c. 5
  - vivi,
    - L. Cotta. 6.
    - L. Cæsar. 6.
- equites et populus Romanus prædicaverunt. 7.
- hostes ipsi accusare jure non possunt. 7.

Armatis Antonius sepsit senatum. 8.
Et libertatem populo Romano eripuit. 8.

IV. Quòd ejus consilio occisus Clodius. *Resp.*
- retorquendo crimen in Antonium: qui eum conatus est occidere. 9.
- negando, se consilium dedisse, cùm Milo non egeret impulsore. 9.

V. Bellum civile excitatum. *Resp.*
- negando: cùm Pompeium a Cæsare disjunxerit. 10.
- asserendo, se bona Pompeio consilia dedisse. 10.

VI. Trucidatus Cæsar. *Resp.*
- negando; cùm id nemo tunc dixerit. 11.
- asserendo, Brutum aliosque satis per se incitatos. 11.
- irridendo: quòd Brutus eum cæde factâ appellârit. 12.
- ostendendo stuporem Antonii
  - in verbis. 12.
  - in factis. 12.
- optando, ut in partem laudis veniat. 13.
- rejiciendo in Antonium suspicionem cædis. 14.

VII. Ab eo læsus Pompeius. *Resp.*
- Doluisse se ruinam reipublicæ quam prævidebat. 15.
- amicum se Pompeio semper exstitisse. [15.
- jocis moderatis usum esse, ad levandum mœrorem. 16.

VIII. Quòd nullius hæreditatem adierit. *Resp.*
- negando; cùm a morientibus acceperit HS ducenties. 16.
- retorquendo in Antonium,
  - qui falsa testamenta supposuerit. 16.
  - patris hæres non fuerit. 16
  - bona reipublicæ rhetori suo dederit. 17.

Insectatio Antonii.

Vita privata
- in pueritiâ, egentissima. 18.
- in adolescentiâ, turpissima. 18.

- Publica
  - in quæsturâ
    - provinciam adiit
      - sine sorte. 20.
      - sine lege. 20.
    - vitam sustentavit
      - largitionibus Cæsaris. 20.
      - rapinis propriis. 20.
  - in tribunatu
    - senatui se opposuit. 21.
    - a senatu, hostis reipublicæ judicatus. 21.
    - senatûs-consultis utilissimis intercessit. 21.
    - belli civilis causa exstitit. 22.
    - damnatos in integrum restituit. 23.
    - Italiam totam vexavit. 23.
    - luxuriâ suâ infamis fuit. 24.
  - in magisterio equitum:
    - ejus rapinæ. 25.
    - vinolentia. 25.
    - emptio bonorum Pompeii quæ
      - in viles personas effudit. 27.
      - præsentiâ suâ fœdavit. 27.
      - impuritate polluit. 28.
    - bello Cæsaris Africano defuit:
      - ob timiditatem et libidines. 29.
      - ideo a Cæsare coactus ad solutionem debitorum. 29.
    - et Hispaniensi:
      - ad quod ire tenebatur, ut sector bonorum Pompeii. 30.
      - ad quod se ire finxit, sed temerè rediit. 30.
  - in consulatu,
    - ante necem Cæsaris
      - cum quo in gratiam rediit. 32.
      - a quo consulatum obtinuit. 32.
      - cui turpiter adulatus est:
        - fusis precibus. 32.
        - diademate oblato. 34.
    - post necem Cæsaris
      - dum timuit:
        - fugâ se subduxit. 35.
        - filium obsidem dedit. 36.
        - dictatoris nomen sustulit. 36.
      - cùm timere desiit:
        - civitatis jure provincias donavit. 36.
        - vectigalia vendidit. 36.
        - ærarium exhausit. 37.
        - Deiotaro regnum, acceptâ pecuniâ, reddidit. 37.
        - commentarios Cæsaris corrupit. 38.
        - exsules sine causâ revocavit. 38.
        - patruum suum impiè deseruit. 38.
        - Italiam ad corrumpendos veteranos decurrit. 39.
        - agrum Campanum sodalibus suis divisit. 39.
        - coloniam Casilinum injustè deduxit. 40.
        - Varronis villam sceleratè occupavit. 40.
        - Dolabellam collegam suum pervertit. 42.
        - Romæ armatis se cinxit. 42.
        - Cæsaris leges bonas evertit. 42.
        - Flaminem ejus se professus est. 43.

Peroratio.

- **Antonium**
  - deterret a tyrannide:
    - ob miseriam tyrannorum: qui
      - armatis satellitibus egent. 44.
      - odiosi sunt civibus. 44.
      - diuturni esse non possunt. 44.
    - et periculum necis: cùm
      - vindices reipublicæ non desint. 44.
      - populus Romanus servitutem horreat. 44.
      - a Bruto sit expulsus Tarquinius. 44.
      - regnum affectantes perierint. 44.
      - Cæsar regnans occisus sit. 45.
  - Hortatur, ad reipublicæ curam
    - recordatione gloriæ adeptæ, cùm dictaturam sustulit. 45.
    - memoriâ lætitiæ senatûs, et populi Romani. 45.
    - consideratione virtutis majorum suorum. 46.
- **Seipsum**
  - ait, nec reipublicæ defuturum. 46.
  - nec mortem timere. 46.
  - sed priusquam moriatur, optare duo:
    - ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquat. 46.
    - ut cuique eveniat, prout de republicâ merebitur. 46.

Line. Page.

1. *Fato:* The ancients defined *fate* to be the connection and series 129
of all causes, by means of which all things happen, that do happen.

2. *Annis viginti:* Twenty years elapsed between the consulship of Cicero and the consulship of Antony.

6. *Exitus non perhorrescere:* Catiline, who conspired against the republic and against Cicero, was slain in battle, bearing arms against his country. His accomplices in that conspiracy were, by a decree of the senate, put to death in prison. Clodius, who was an inveterate enemy to Cicero, and who by his intrigues drove him into exile, was slain by Milo.

7. *Aliis:* He here means Clodius, Catiline, Vatinius, Piso, and Gabinius, in opposing whose vices Cicero was more active in attacking than in defending.

14. *Gratiâ:* The Romans conferred distinguished marks of favor on Cicero. When he was banished by Clodius, almost the whole equestrian order changed their garments: twenty thousand of the young men of the greatest eminence in the city, accompanied those who were to intercede for his restitution; and a full senate decreed a change of dress, as in a general mourning. When he was on his return from exile, the senate and people went out to meet him; they conducted him in triumph, as it were, from the *Porta Capena* to the Capitol.

16. *Detrahi:* Antony thought he could diminish the popularity of Cicero by calumniating him in the senate.

16. *Qui ordo, etc.:* The senate had conferred the praise of well governing the republic upon many, but the praise of preserving the republic upon Cicero alone. Cato, when speaking in the senate respecting Catiline's conspiracy, called Cicero "The Father of his Country."

27. *Contra alienum pro familiari....meo:* It is not known who this

129 friend and relation was; but the stranger was Q. F. Bambalio, whose daughter Antony had married. Cicero, having appeared for his friend, against this Bambalio, was reproached by Antony with having violated the laws of friendship.

29. *Ætatis flore, collectum:* When Antony was young, he was popular, not on account of his virtues, but rather on account of the vivacity of youth, and his agreeable qualities.

30. *Iste:* It seems from this passage, that, notwithstanding some tribune bribed by Antony interposed against Cicero's friend, yet Bambalio lost his cause. The *jus prætorium* was a power assumed by the prætors, of mending, supplying, and correcting the civil law, as necessity and equity should require.

32. *Infimo ordini:* The plebeian order.

130 1. *In disciplinam meam:* It was customary, when young men took the manly gown, to place them under the tuition of some eminent citizen, that they might be instructed in useful knowledge and the duties of life, and be formed to virtue and humanity.

4. *C. Curionem:* Curio was a young nobleman of brilliant talents; admirably fitted by nature to adorn the character (in which his father and grandfather had flourished before him) of one of the principal orators of Rome; but a natural propensity to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion, Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expense and debauchery. When his father, by Cicero's advice, obliged him to quit the familiarity of Antony, he reformed his conduct, and, adhering to the instructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favorite of the city, the leader of the young nobility, and a warm assertor of the authority of the senate, against the power of the Triumviri. After his father's death, upon his first participation of public honors and admission into the senate, his ambition and desire of popularity engaged him in so great prodigality, that, to supply the magnificence of the shows and plays, with which he entertained the city, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar, and fell the first victim in the civil war.

5. *Auguratûs, etc.:* It was necessary, that a candidate for admission into the college of augurs, should be nominated by two augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office; this was done in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the two most eminent members of the college.

15. *At beneficio sum usus tuo:* After Pompey was defeated in the battle of Pharsalia, Cato endeavored to persuade Cicero, at the request of his friends, to take the command of the fleet; but, as Cæsar was pursuing, Cicero fled to Brundusium, with a design to go into Italy. Antony, having been sent there before Cæsar, might have killed Cicero, as he refused both the authority of Pompey and of Cæsar.

19. *Victor....latronibus suis:* Cæsar sent Antony at the head of an army into Italy, to subject it to his power. Cicero, by using the word *latronibus*, insinuates, that the soldiers under Antony were rather robbers than honorable warriors.

25. *A quo erant servati:* In this observation, says Merouille, Brutus and Cassius must not be included. They never submitted to Cæsar.

32. *De interitu reipublicæ:* Antony was endeavoring to destroy the constitution; he wanted not only to assume the power, which Cæsar usurped, but also to reverse the laws made by Cæsar.

35. *Hoc gradu:* Cicero was a senator and a man of consular rank, than which there was none higher in the republic. 130

39. *Reliquias reipublicæ:* These words probably mean the public money laid up in the temple of Ops, which Antony claimed to himself, and made subservient to the purposes of his ambition; or perhaps they refer to the four thousand talents obtained from Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife.

41. *Promulgata:* Before any law was passed, it was published twenty days.

1. *M. Crasso:* Cicero was at enmity with Crassus, because he imagined, that Crassus had been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. They were, however, reconciled afterwards. 131

16. *Mustellæ, etc.:* All that is known of these men is, that they were ruffians employed by Antony; illiterate fellows, and qualified only to execute his brutal purposes.

22. *In quo, etc.:* Referring to Antony's inserting various clauses in Cæsar's will and other papers.

35. *Tuas literas:* The letters Cicero received from Antony relative to the restoration of Sextus Clodius.

38. *Quid enim, etc.:* Cicero had no intention to oppose Antony vigorously, as he knew Clodius would return in consequence of a law passed by Cæsar.

16. *Homô sapiens:* Irony. 132

20. *C. Curionem:* Curio, having driven Cato out of Sicily, marched with four legions into Africa against Varus, who, strengthened by the accession of Juba, had reduced the whole province to subjection. Upon his landing, he met with some success, but was afterwards entirely defeated and slain near the river Bagrăda, by Sabăra, Juba's general.

21. *Quod....utrique fatale:* Meaning Fulvia, who was first married to Clodius, whom Milo killed; next to Curio, above mentioned; and lastly to Antony.

22. *P. Servilio:* He conquered the Isaurians in Cilicia, and obtained the surname of Isaurĭcus.

24. *Q. Lutatio Catulo:* Catulus was a man of much respectability and influence in the republic.

25. *Duobus Lucullis:* Lucius and Marcus. Lucius Lucullus conducted the war against Mithridates. See Notes to the Oration for the Manilian Law.—*M. Crasso:* Marcus Licinius Crassus was famous for his riches. He was a friend to Cicero, and said, that as often as he thought of his wife, his house and his country, so often he thought of the benefit he derived from Cicero's consulship.—*Q. Hortensio....C. Curioni, etc.:* Of Hortensius, we have already spoken in Note, page 56, line 21. This Curio was consul thirteen years before Cicero. Cicero speaks of him in his treatise *De Claris Oratoribus*. Lepidus was Cæsar's master of the horse, and afterwards was one of the Triumvĭri. Piso was the brother of Lucius Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar. Glabrio was consul four years before Cicero, and was one of those who voted in the senate against Catiline. Volcatius was consul three years before Cicero. Figŭlus was a man of integrity, and much respected; he was consul the year before Cicero. Silanus and Murēna were consuls elect in the year in which Cicero was consul. For Murēna, Cicero delivered an oration, to defend him against the charge of having infringed the law against bribery.

29. *M. Catoni:* Cato never arrived to the consulship; the highest

132 office he ever bore was the prætorship. He was a man of great innocence and influence, addicted to the philosophy of the Stoics; that he might not see his country enslaved by Cæsar, he killed himself at Utica; from which circumstance he is often called *Cato Uticensis*.

31. *Cn. Pompeius:* When Pompey returned from his Asiatic expedition, he returned thanks to Cicero, declaring that he should seek a triumph in vain, unless the city had been preserved by Cicero, in which he could triumph.

40. *L. Cotta:* Cotta was a man of much prudence and virtue, and consul two years before Cicero.

133 1. *L. Cæsar* was consul a year before Cicero.

5. *Vitrici:* This was Lentŭlus Sura, who, being one of Catiline's conspirators, was put to death in prison.—*Avunculi:* This was Lucius Cæsar.

9. *Dies natales:* Birth-days were observed by the Romans as great festivals.

10. *Non descendit Antonius:* Antony did not come into the senate on that occasion, detained by the birth-day of some parasite.

11. *Phormioni, etc.:* These were names of famous parasites in the plays of Terence and Plautus.

14. *Principem senatorem:* L. Cæsar, who was Antony's uncle.

25. *Nefaria senatûs-consulta:* Cicero speaks ironically, as he refers to those decrees of the senate, by which the republic was preserved from ruin.

34. *Consciorum indiciis:* Besides others, who confessed, there was one Cæparius, who, upon a public promise of protection, discovered the whole conspiracy.

40. *Negat a me datum:* Antony had objected to Cicero, that he refused burial to the corpse of Lentŭlus Sura, who, after the death of Antony's father, married his mother, and who was put to death in prison for having been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy; but Plutarch, in his life of Antony, shows that this charge was groundless.

134 21. *Ithyræis circumsederi:* Jews (so called from a province of Palestine), whom Antony, when he served under Gabinius, the proconsul, brought with him to Rome, as persons every way qualified to execute his brutal and ambitious purposes.

28. *Uxore mimâ:* This was Cytheris, one of Antony's mistresses, whom he is said to have carried with him in his military expeditions. Some commentators think she is the person who is mentioned by Virgil in those lines of Eclogue 10th:

> Galle, quid insanis? inquit: tua cura, Lycoris,
> Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta est.

She was called Volumnia also, from Volumnius Eutrapĕlus, who was acquainted with her before Antony. She had indeed various names, which is no uncommon thing with women of her character.

28. *Cedant arma togæ:* This famous distich has been a source of much raillery upon Cicero's poetical character; and two bad lines, says the ingenious author of his life, picked out by the malice of his enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. Antony had been severe upon him in regard to his poetry; and it is observable that his answer is not in that elegant and polite strain of raillery, of which he was master on other occasions.

135 13. *Operâ meâ, etc.:* Cicero, indeed, did endeavor to separate

Pompey from Cæsar, when it was feared, that if their arms were 135
united, they would destroy the liberties of the republic; but not when he saw there was a probability, that a civil war would exist between them. Cicero was always an adviser of peace.

18. *M. Bibulo:* Bibŭlus was consul with Cæsar, but Cæsar deprived him of his authority, and even prohibited him from the senate. At this time was formed the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; they governed the republic as they pleased. It became an object then with every good man to have Pompey separated from Cæsar.

22. *Postea verò, etc.:* Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and, by this means, the alliance between them was strengthened.

27. *Ne quinquennii imperium....prorogaret, etc.:* By the Vatinian law Cæsar obtained the province of Gaul for five years. When this time had elapsed, by the interest of Pompey and Crassus, he obtained a prolongation of his command. Pompey, when he was consul the third time, in the year of Rome 701, procured also a law, empowering Cæsar to offer himself a candidate for the consulship, without appearing personally at Rome, as law and custom required. To these laws Cicero and Cato were opposed.

30. *Omnes opes, etc.:* Plutarch relates, that Pompey sent two legions to Cæsar in Gaul.

11. *L. Bruti:* Lucius Junius Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins. 136

12. *Ahalæ:* Servilius Ahāla was one of Brutus's ancestors, by the mother's side: he slew Sp. Melius, who was suspected of aiming at sovereignty.

14. *C. Cassius:* Cassius was descended from that C. Cassius who put his own son to death, because suspected of having designs against the state.

19. *Cn. Domitium:* Suetonius gives a high character to this Domitius. He was son to L. Domitius, who fell in the battle of Pharsalia, and nephew to Cato Uticensis.

26. *L. Tillius Cimber:* Senĕca, in his epistles to Lucullus, says, that this Cimber was a notorious drunkard, and that, nevertheless, the secret of Cæsar's assassination was as much intrusted to him as it was to Cassius, who all his life had drunk nothing but water.

30. *Duos Servilios:* Servilius Isaurĭcus, and his son, who was twice consul.

39. *Consimilem:* Cicero delivered his country from Catiline's conspiracy; Brutus, from Cæsar's tyranny.

31. *Legibus est solutus:* Brutus and Cassius being obliged to de- 137
part from Rome after Cæsar's death, and not thinking it safe to return on account of the violence of the mob, their friends solicited the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the republic. As prætors, their residence was absolutely necessary at Rome, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year; but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws, being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible, stripped of their power, suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection. By his means commissions were granted to them to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the republic; which commissions were intended to degrade them, as the offices conferred were much below their characters.

5. *Equum Trojanum:* Cicero refers to the wooden horse, by 138

138 means of which the Grecians destroyed Troy. See Virgil's Æneid Book Second.

20. *Non solùm unum actum, sed totam fabulam, confecissem:* It has already been observed, that the authors of Cæsar's death were undecided in their conduct, after they had slain him. Cicero seems here to imply, that it was his opinion, that more should have been done, besides removing Cæsar. This was but one act; the success of the drama was not complete; there should have been a catastrophe, which would have destroyed faction, and reformed the abuses of the constitution of the republic. He seems to insinuate, that Antony should have been slain.

23. *Narbone:* This was one of the most ancient cities of Gaul, and gave its name to the province in which it was situated.—*Hoc consilium, etc.:* When the conspirators were consulting about killing Cæsar, it was debated among them, whether they should invite Antony to assist them; but Trebonius was opposed to the motion, pretending that he knew Antony's sentiments relative to this matter, as he had already endeavored to urge Antony to it, at the time when Cæsar was returning from Gaul. He represented, at the same time, that Antony refused to comply with what he proposed, but that he had nevertheless kept the secret faithfully. They then debated whether they should kill Antony together with Cæsar; but Brutus opposed this, because he thought, that whatever was undertaken in defence of liberty and the laws of one's country, ought, if possible, to be conducted in a popular manner. Thus much Plutarch relates; Cicero, however, affirms, that Antony entered into the design against Cæsar, but that he had not courage to assist in the execution of it.

25. *Sevocari:* When the conspirators determined on the manner in which Cæsar should be slain, they ordered Trebonius to call Antony aside, in fear that Antony, who was then consul, and Cæsar's colleague, should exert his consular power to frustrate their design.

35. *Ad quem, etc.:* Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, after the death of her husband, fled for shelter to Antony, carrying with her all the money Cæsar had left behind him, amounting to near a million sterling.—*Cujus domus, etc.:* Antony had much reason to be pleased with the death of Cæsar, as it became the means of his political elevation; by altering the writings, which Cæsar left, foisting into them new clauses, and bribing those who wrote them to write others in the same hand, he was enabled to govern the republic, dispose of offices, and gratify his own desires in the same manner as Cæsar had done.

139 4. *Castra....Pompeii, etc.:* Antony said of Cicero, that, though he espoused Pompey's party in the civil wars, yet he did more injury than service to his friends, which assertion Cicero undertakes to refute; he advised peace, as he foresaw the evil consequences of war, and of victory, on either side.

25. *At verò, etc.:* When Cicero joined Pompey, he was greatly dissatisfied with many things in regard to his management of the war, and the conduct of the chiefs of his party, who, trusting to the superior fame and authority of their leader, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory, and, without reflecting on the different characters of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. Cicero endeavored to discourage this wild spirit; but finding that his remonstrances were slighted, he resumed his usual way of raillery, and what he could not frustrate by his authority, endeavored to make ridiculous by his jests.

35. *Paphum:* After the defeat at Pharsalia, Pompey fled to Paphos, a city of Cyprus. 139

4. *Hæreditates mihi negâsti venire:* It was common among the Romans to bequeath legacies to distinguished men, and it was a reproach to a man of talents to have no legacy bequeathed him. In reply to this sarcasm of Antony, Cicero said, he wished that what Antony said was true, as, in that case, many of his friends, who were dead, would be living; and then he asserts, that he had received by legacies more than £160,000. 140

6. *HS ducenties:* H may be considered as II (i. e. *duo*) merely crossed by a horizontal line; since HVIR, for DUUMVIR, is found on ancient coins, and the numeral X is frequently so crossed $\left(\frac{\text{V}}{\Lambda}\right)$. S stands for *semis, half.* Thus HS ("two and a half") are used as a sign for *sestertius*, which also means "two and a half" (i. e. *asses*), being written by syncope for *semis tertius*, "*three* minus *half*," according to the ancient custom, in reckoning money, of placing a fraction before a whole number to diminish the latter. Similar is the Greek idiom ἥμισυ τρίτον, "two and a half." *Sestertius* is properly an adjective agreeing with *nummus*, understood, which, however, is sometimes expressed (*sestertius nummus*), and is sometimes even used alone in this sense, having *sestertius* understood before it. The *sestertius* (*nummus*) was originally one quarter (2½ *asses*) of the *denarius* or piece of 10 *asses*. In computing by the *sestertius*, when the number amounted to one or more thousands, the Romans commonly put the word in the genitive plural (*sestertiorum*, or, contracted, *sestertiûm*) governed by *mille*, *bis mille* or *bina millia*, *octo millia*, *centena millia*, *bis centena millia*, &c., signifying so many thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of *sestertii* (*nummi*); but when the number amounted to *decies centena millia sestertiûm*, "ten hundred thousand" or a "million *sestertii*," the words *centena millia* were by custom suppressed, leaving *decies sestertium*, to signify "a million *sestertii*." But we find expressions like *summa decies sestertii*, and *vivere in decies sestertio*, meaning also "a million *sestertii*," and the grammatical form they present is not accounted for by the mode of reckoning sums less than a million. Hence several learned critics have adopted the opinion, that *decies*, in the reckoning of *sestertii*, came to be considered as an indeclinable substantive noun, in the singular number, and *sestertium* as an adjective, agreeing with it in number and gender, and varying in case as the position of *decies* in the sentence might require. This opinion is supported by the phrases, *hoc decies*, *decies plenum*, and the like. The same is true of the numeral adverbs higher than *decies*. According to this explanation, *HS ducenties* in the text is *sestertio ducenties*, in the ablative, governed by *amplius*, and is equivalent to *ducenties centena millia sestertiûm*, "two hundred hundred thousand" or "twenty million *sestertii*." See also page 141, line 25, where *sestertium sexagies* is in the accusative, governed by *peteret*, and signifies 6,000,000. On this subject, the student is referred to the "Additional Remarks on Roman Money," at the end of Gould's edition of Adam's Latin Grammar.

8. *Fateor feliciorem, etc.:* Cicero insinuates, that he succeeded to legacies only by the wills of his friends; that Antony succeeded to legacies not only by the wills of his friends, but by forging wills of both friends and enemies, and defrauding their heirs.

11. *Cassinas:* This adjective is formed from *Cassinum*, the name

140 of a town of Campania, near which the *Via Appia* and *Via Latina* met.

24. *Patris:* He had dissipated his estate.

25. *Hæc ut colligeres, etc.:* After Cicero delivered his first Philippic, Antony determined to answer him in person in the senate, and for this purpose is said to have employed himself seventeen days in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in Scipio's villa near the Tiber.

26. *Alienâ villâ:* These are words of reproach, which imply, that notwithstanding the rapacity and frauds of Antony, he was so prodigal, that he had not a villa of his own, in which he could retire for study or recreation.

29. *Rhetorem:* A rhetorician was less honorable than an orator, because the former taught the rules of rhetoric in private, which the latter practised in public.

32. *Avum tuum:* M. Antonius, grandfather of Antony, was a celebrated orator.

36. *Campi Leontini Sex. Clodio:* This Sextus Clodius, the rhetorical master of Antony, was a Sicilian by birth, and received from Antony two thousand acres of Leontine land, esteemed the most fertile in Sicily, as a reward for his instructions.

38. *Ex Cæsaris commentariis:* Cicero reproachfully asks, whether Cæsar's posthumous decrees, which Antony altered and interpolated as he pleased, bestowed these lands upon Sextus Clodius.

141 6. *Decoxisse:* Became bankrupt.—*Patris:* It has already been observed that Antony's father had dissipated his estate.

7. *Pietatis:* The original signification of this word, and the sense in which it is here used, is "filial duty."

8. *Lege Rosciâ:* The Roscian law decreed, that those knights, whose estates were correspondent to their dignity, should have benches provided for them in the theatre, from which all knights should be excluded, who, either by their own fault, or the fault of fortune, had lost their property.

11. *Muliebrem togam:* Alluding to the licentious pleasures of Antony. At first, among the Romans, the gown was worn by both men and women. Afterwards the modest women were distinguished by the *palla* and the *stola;* the former was their ordinary vest, worn within doors, coming down to their ankles; the latter they put on when they went abroad, and covered with it the stola and their whole body. The common courtesans were not allowed to wear the *stola,* but were obliged to appear in a *toga,* as a mark of infamy, on account of its resemblance to the habit of the other sex.

25. *Sestertium sexagies:* See Note, page 140, line 6.

142 4. *Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio:* Antony was intimate with Clodius while the latter was in prosperity, but deserted him when in adversity.—*Qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat:* No favors Antony could bestow upon Cicero, could compensate for his being an intimate friend of Clodius, while that seditious tribune was executing the dictates of his implacable enmity against Cicero.

5. *Ejus....incendiorum fax:* The profligacy of Antony's character justified this assertion.

6. *Quiddam:* Antony endeavored to commit adultery with Fulvia, Clodius's wife, whom, after the death of Clodius, he married.

7. *Contra senatûs auctoritatem:* Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being expelled by the Alexandrines, applied to the Romans for restoration to his throne. Gabinius, persuaded by Antony, undertook to rein-

state him, contrary to the authority of the senate, and to the Sibylline oracles, which forbade that an Egyptian king should be replaced by an army. 142

10. *Reditus....Priùs in ultimam Galliam....quàm domum:* From Egypt, whither Antony had gone with Gabinius, he went to Cæsar in Farther Gaul; his numerous debts prevented his going to Rome. As Cicero asserts, Antony had no house, except one at Misēnus, a part of which was in possession of his creditors.

15. *Sisaponem:* Sisapōne was a town of Cordŭba, in Spain, famous for its mines of red lead. It is here applied reproachfully to Antony's possession of his farm at Misēnus; for Sisăpo was held in common, not by any one in particular.

18. *Acceperam....Cæsaris literas:* One of Antony's objects in going to Cæsar in Spain, was to procure money enough to secure an election to the quæstorship; but fearing that he should not succeed, if Cicero was opposed to him, on account of his intimacy with Clodius, he prevailed upon Cæsar to write conciliatory letters to the orator.

30. *Quæstor es factus:* The quæstors, who were the treasurers of the republic, were sent annually into the seven provinces, one with every proconsul or governor, to whom they were next in authority; their provinces were assigned them by decree of the senate, or by casting lots. But Antony, without regard to laws or customs, went directly to Cæsar as soon as he was made quæstor.

44. *Ipsique C. Cæsari:* Lentŭlus and Marcellus were devoted to Pompey's interest, and when they had entered the office of consuls, the senate voted a decree, that Cæsar before a certain day should dismiss his army, or be declared an enemy. Antony and Cassius were attached to Cæsar, and, during their tribuneship, would permit no decree to be passed, which was detrimental to him; they therefore opposed this; and when the senate perceived, that they would not withdraw their negative, they voted that the consuls should take care that the republic should receive no detriment. This vote gave the consuls absolute power over every individual in the city whom they thought enemies to the commonwealth. Antony and Cassius, supposing themselves endangered, immediately departed from Rome, and fled to Cæsar's camp.

5. *Tot luminibus exstinctis:* Cato, Marcellus, Lentulus, Domitius, and other worthy characters, who were slain in the civil war.—*Hostem togatum:* A conspirator or traitor, who, without putting off the robe of peace, betrays his country. 143

26. *Tu, tu....princeps:* The conduct of Antony in his tribuneship was such, that the senate were obliged to take violent measures. Antony then fled to Cæsar, and afforded him a pretext for usurping the power of his country. Cæsar used the pretext; and among other pretences, by which he justified the usurpation, complained, that the constitution was disregarded by the senate and consuls, that Antony's *Veto* was overruled, and himself persecuted by them for discharging the official duties of the tribuneship.

38. *Consules....excussos:* As Cæsar advanced to the city, Marcellus and Lentŭlus fled to Pompey, who was with his army at Capua.

2. *Tres exercitus:* Pompey's at Pharsalia, Afranius's in Spain, and Scipio's in Africa. 144

8. *Helena Trojanis:* For the story of Helen, the student is referred to Virgil's Æneïd.

13. *Patrui nulla mentio:* C. Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague

144 in the consulship, had the province of Macedonia assigned to him, and for mal-administration was condemned to perpetual exile.

21. *De aleâ lege:* Sulla passed a law, by which all games were prohibited, except such as improved the body by exercise; such as throwing the spear, running, jumping, wrestling, and boxing.

30. *Cùm Cæsar, in Hispaniam:* When Cæsar went to Spain, he committed Rome to the government of Lepĭdus, the prætor, and Italy and the other garrisons to Antony, who was then tribune. During the absence of Cæsar, Antony lived very profligately.

35. *Qui non fui:* Cicero resided only a short time in Italy, while Cæsar was in Spain.

40. *Essedo:* This was a kind of warlike wagon used in battle by the Gauls and Britons.

41. *Mima portabatur:* This mistress of Antony was Cytheris, who was also called Volumnia.

45. *Rejecta mater:* The unhappy mother of Antony was obliged to follow this actress as an attendant.

145 12. *Victor e Thessaliâ:* Pharsalia was in Thessaly.

12. *Brundisium:* Was a port in Italy, in which Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, stationed Antony to guard Italy, while he pursued Pompey. At Brundisium it was in Antony's power to kill Cicero.

27. *Tot dierum:* Brundisium was fourteen days' journey from Rome.

35. *Equos vectigales:* Tributary horses.—*Non hanc:* Antony had unlawfully entered and kept possession of Pompey's house.

146 4. *Hippiæ nuptiis:* Hippia separated herself from her first husband, who was a senator, and married the actor Sergius. At the nuptials of these debauched lovers, Antony drank so much wine, that the next day he vomited in the presence of the Roman people, which would have been scandalous in a common citizen, and was extremely disgraceful to a magistrate, so eminent as the master of the horse.

16. *Hastâ positâ:* After the Alexandrine war was ended, Antony advertised the goods and estate of Pompey for sale by public auction. At the sale, a spear was erected, as usual, which signified that the auction was legal, that instrument of war being an emblem of authority.

26. *Unus inventus:* Antony.

38. *Apud poëtam:* This poet is said to be Nævius.

147 3. *Charybdis:* Charybdis is a whirlpool in the strait between the island of Sicily and Italy, and is opposite to the rock Scylla. See Virgil's Æneïd, Book III, verse 414, and the following.

24. *Rostra, etc.:* The spoils Pompey had taken from the ships of the enemy in the piratic war. The Romans were fond of decorating their porches, and the avenues to their houses.

39. *Suas res sibi habere jussit:* That is, he divorced his actress; for the form of a divorce of this kind was a command, ordering the wife, *res suas sibi habere*, and sometimes *res suas sibi agere;* which was according to the law of the Twelve Tables.

43. *Et consul et Antonius:* This was an appellation, which, through vanity, Antony gave to himself.

148 5. *Earum partium:* Cæsar's party, which Antony followed.

9. *Ei bello:* This war was undertaken after Cæsar had finished the Alexandrine war. Cæsar prosecuted it in Africa against Scipio and Cato; but Antony did not join him.

12. *L. Domitium:* L. Domitius Ænobarbus was a man eminent for 148
his glorious actions, and, before the commencement of the civil wars, was ordered by the senate to succeed Cæsar in Gaul.

21. *Testamento:* It has been said, that Cæsar was not so much pleased with Antony, when the civil wars were ended, as he had been during their continuance. Some proof of this was Cæsar's demanding immediate payment of the money, which Antony had bound himself to pay by the purchase of Pompey's estate. But it is supposed Cæsar never had a design of ruining Antony, and that he desired only to check his extravagance, and thus make him more useful to his own designs.

23. *Respondisti....ferociter:* Trusting to his interest with Cæsar, Antony never designed to pay for Pompey's estate; and, when Cæsar demanded payment, was so much provoked, that he is said to have conceived a design against Cæsar's life, of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the senate.

35. *Illâ tabulâ:* The inventory of Pompey's estate. Antony had destroyed, disposed of, and abused so large a portion of Pompey's estate and effects, that the inventory of them, exhibited at the sale, became an object of ridicule.

43. *Hæredes L. Rubrii:* By permission of Cæsar, the heirs of Rubrius, whose goods Antony had taken, stopped the sale that he was making of the effects of Pompey, which he was obliged to sell in order to procure money to pay Cæsar.

1. *Ipsis temporibus:* At the time of this sale, Antony sent an as- 149
sassin to Cæsar's house to slay him, but the murderer did not succeed.

4. *Proficiscitur in Hispaniam:* When Cæsar had ended the African war, he went to Spain to attack one of Pompey's sons, who had collected an army to revenge the death of his father.

6. *Rudem:* This was a kind of rod or wand given to gladiators in token of their discharge, when they had ended their combats.

13. *Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum civibus:* Once in Thessaly at Pharsalia with Pompey; once at Thapsus in Africa with Scipio and Juba; once with the sons of Pompey at Munda in Spain.

24. *Narbone:* This city was the capital of Gallia Narbonensis.

31. *Gallicis....lacernâ:* Pattens and a short cloak belonged to a military dress, in which it was very improper to enter the city and appear as a candidate for any magistracy.

42. *Saxa Rubra:* This was the name of a village between Rome and the city of Veii.

1. *A. Marco:* i. e. Marcus Antonius. 150

2. *Ad eam:* Fulvia, his wife.

11. *Terrore nocturno:* Antony departed from Rome to compliment Cæsar on his victory at Munda in Spain over the sons of Pompey, but, having met some despatches, he returned to Rome with so much haste, that there was a great public alarm, the people supposing that some important event had happened, that Cæsar was dead, or that, having destroyed the military force of the Pompeian party, he now approached Rome to inflict bloody revenge upon his unprotected antagonists.

13. *L. Plancus:* Plancus was an intimate friend of Cicero.

21. *Habebat hoc....Cæsar:* One can scarcely believe that this Cæsar is the man, whom Cicero, when delivering the oration for Marcellus and Ligarius, addressed with so much adulation. Yet he is the same; and Cicero, at this time uninfluenced by fear of punishment or hope

150 of favor, dares portray his character in its true colors. Cæsar was an ambitious man; his ambition pursued those means to effect its objects, which the same passion in other men has always chosen. To enslave his country, he deluded or overpowered the virtuous, and, by encouragement and reward, made the vicious the ministers by whose services he executed his designs.

25. *Nihil queror de Dolabellâ:* Cæsar promised the consulship to Dolabella; Antony had already been appointed consul, and being jealous of Dolabella's rivalling him in Cæsar's favor, persuaded Cæsar to retain the consulship himself. Dolabella's honor was injured by this proceeding, and in the senate, where he dared not speak against Cæsar, he pronounced a severe invective against Antony. A quarrel ensued; Cæsar was induced to assure Dolabella, that, before he went to the Parthian war, he would resign the consulship to him; but Antony declared that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted.

30. *Calendæ Januariæ:* The time when the consuls elect entered their office.

32. *Hic:* Antony.

34. *Proficisceretur:* To the Parthian war.

38. *Vel impedire vel vitiare:* It was in the power of the augurs to hinder or dissolve any public meeting by observing an inauspicious omen, as when it thundered, or birds were in certain positions, etc. This power was often abused.

41. *Istuc, etc.:* A literal translation of this passage is as follows: "If you had not been augur, and had been consul, would you have been less able to do that which you said you could do by your sacerdotal authority? See that it is not more easy; for we [the augurs] have only the right of declaring; the consuls and other magistrates, that of inspection."

151 6. *De cœlo servare:* To observe the auspices by viewing the heavens.

7. *Per leges:* The Ælian and Tuscan laws forbade the taking of the auspices while the people were engaged in business, because they should have been taken before.

11. *Idus Martias:* On the Ides of March Cæsar was slain.

15. *Sortitio prærogativæ:* The consuls were chosen by the Comitia centuriata. See Note, page 43, line 20. By this institution of Servius Tullius, the common people had little power. After the expulsion of kings, the Romans altered this aristocratical regulation, and decreed, that the centuries should vote according to lot, that that century should vote first upon which the lot fell, and should be called *centuria prærogativa*, and that the other centuries, which had the appellation of *jure vocatæ*, should vote according to their proper places

16. *Quiescit:* Antony.—*Renuntiatur:* Dolabella.

19. *Bonus augur:* This is an ironical compliment to Antony, whom, he says, you would call a Lælius. Lælius was an augur of much celebrity and influence.

19. Alio die: When Antony saw that Dolabella was elected, he pretended to see an inauspicious omen, and exclaimed, (*Alio die*) "Adjourn."

26. *Augur auguri, consul consuli:* Antony was augur and consul; Cæsar was augur and consul.

35. *Augur:* i. e. I, who am augur.

37. *Lupercalia:* This festival was on the fifteenth of February.

41. *Rhetoris:* Sextus Clodius, of whom mention has been made before in this oration. 151

43. *Collega tuus:* Cæsar.

1. *Lupercus:* One engaged in celebrating the festival of the Lupercalia. 152

5. *Ille:* Cæsar.

13. *Cùm es nudus concionatus:* The ceremonies of the Lupercalian festival were; first, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the bloody knife. Afterwards the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, armed in this manner, and covered only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city and fields, striking all they met. Antony this year was one of the young men, and, while Cæsar was sitting in a golden chair seeing them run, Antony advanced to him, and offered him a diadem and kingly power, which Cæsar refused.

21. *Fastis:* Books, annual registers.

22. Populi jussu: This is false; there was no order of the people.

26. *De die....in diem:* *Vivere de die* signifies to live sumptuously and feast every day; *in diem vivere* is to regard the present only, to be careless of futurity.

29. *L. Tarquinius:* He was the last king of the Romans, and was expelled by Lucius Junius Brutus.—*Sp. Cassius, Melius, M. Manlius:* These men at different times were supposed to be desirous of making themselves kings of Rome, and were put to death.

40. *Fuga:* When Antony heard of Cæsar's death, he fled, fearing he also should be killed.

42. *Beneficio eorum:* Brutus and Cassius. Antony would have been slain, had not Brutus advised his friends to spare him.

2. *Liberatoribus nostris:* Brutus and Cassius. 153

9. *Post diem tertium:* After the death of Cæsar.

10. *Obsiderent:* After the death of Cæsar, Lepidus armed the Forum in the night with soldiers.

15. *Puerum nobilem:* Antony sent his son to Brutus into the Capitol as an hostage. Bambalio was Antony's father-in-law.

21. *Pulchra laudatio, etc.:* Cicero speaks ironically. Antony pronounced a funeral oration over the body of Cæsar.—*Tua miseratio:* In the course of his eulogy he held up to the sight of the populace the robe of Cæsar, rent by the daggers of his assassins, and stained with blood, intending, by exciting their pity, to inflame their passions against the conspirators.—*Tua cohortatio:* Antony exhorted the people to revenge the death of Cæsar.

22. *Illas faces incendisti:* The people, moved by the speech of Antony, took brands of fire from the funeral pile of Cæsar, burnt some houses of the senators, and were with difficulty dispersed by Dolabella, the other consul.

29. *Immunitatis tabula:* Cæsar, before his death, granted several immunities and furloughs to his soldiers, which Antony countermanded.

29. *Figeretur:* Laws, decrees, etc. were engraven on brass tables, and fixed in the Capitol and other public places, for the information of the people.

31. *Dictaturæ nomen:* Antony obtained a decree, that whoever endeavored to create a dictator, or should accept a dictatorship offered to him, should be put to death.

154 1. *Septies millies sestertium:* About £5,000,000. See Note, page 140, line 6.

2. *Ad Opis:* The word *ædem* is here understood.

3. *Rege Deiotaro:* See Introduction to the oration for king Deiotarus. Cæsar deprived Deiotarus of a part of his kingdom for his adherence to Pompey. At the death of Cæsar, Antony bargained with the old king for the sum of £80,000, to restore to him what Cæsar had taken. But when Deiotarus heard Cæsar was dead, he seized his dominions himself.

12. *Massiliensibus*: The inhabitants of Marseilles were allies of the Romans, and espoused the party of Pompey and the senate, which made Cæsar inimical to them.

23. *Syngrapha H. S. centies:* A note in writing for about £78,000.

33. *Iste:* Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician

36. *Ille:* Deiotarus.

37. *Auctorem:* Cæsar.

40. *Imitatores:* Counterfeiters.—*Gladiatorum libellos:* Bills containing the names of the gladiators and the feats to be performed.

155 2. *Post M. Brutum proconsulem:* Antony had lately published a decree, which, he pretended, he had found among Cæsar's papers, that declared, that after the proconsulate of M. Brutus Crete should be freed from taxes. That this decree was not among Cæsar s papers is very evident, because, while Cæsar was living, neither he nor any one else could foresee that Brutus would be proconsul in Crete, as that event was caused by Cæsar's death alone; and if Cæsar had not been assassinated, Brutus would not have gone to Crete in quality of proconsul.

8. *Hic venditor:* Antony.

15. *Patrui:* This was C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the consulship. He was condemned to exile for maladministration in Macedonia. Mark Antony, his nephew, recalled many from exile, but neglected him. However, when he was afterwards restored, his nephew endeavored to have him elected censor. The inconsistency of the conduct of Mark Antony on this occasion excited both the ridicule and indignation of the Romans.

20. *Sinistrum fulmen:* Thunder from the left was a happy omen on every occasion except the holding of the Comitia; it then was deemed an inauspicious one.

22. *Septemviratu:* The Septemviri, to whom this passage refers, were either the seven commissioners appointed to regulate the feasts in honor of the gods, or the commissioners appointed after Cæsar's death to divide the Leontine and Campanian lands. Antony deserted his uncle on this occasion, and thereby became more inconsistent.

31. *Stuprum oblatum esse comperisses:* This was a tale invented by Antony to afford a pretext for a divorce from his cousin Antonia, and to justify in some degree his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius.

36. *Ad chirographa:* Cicero alludes to the forgeries of Antony, papers which the latter pretended were left by Cæsar.

156 5. *Illud "Penè":* In endeavoring to establish a colony at Capua, Antony was almost killed; and Cicero here says, that he wishes that that *almost* had been away; that is, he wished that Antony had been killed.

8. *Agrum Campanum:* The Campanian lands belonged to the commonwealth; Antony nevertheless divided them among his sol-

thers, that he might thereby attach them more strongly to himself. 156

13. *Agro Leontino:* The Leontine lands were in Sicily; Antony bestowed them on the Sextus Clodius before mentioned. These lands were very fertile.

19. *Casilinum:* A town in Campania.

20. *Capuâ:* When Antony attempted to settle his soldiers at Capua, the old inhabitants made so vigorous a resistance, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

27. *Vexillum tolleres, et aratrum circumduceres:* This was the usual way of establishing colonies.

30. *M. Varronis:* Varro was esteemed the most learned man in Rome, and was an intimate friend of Cicero. He was Pompey's lieutenant in Spain, but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius, he left the army, and retired to his studies.

42. *Ut redderes:* Cæsar wrote to Antony to restore to Varro his Cassinian estate, which Antony had unjustly obtained.

5. *Ab horâ tertiâ:* This hour, according to the Roman mode of 157
computation, it will be recollected, was early in the forenoon.

15. *Cassino, etc.:* Cassīnum was a town in Campania; Aquīnum, a town near Samnium; Interamna, a town near Aquīnum.

23. *Anagnini:* Anagnia was a town in Campania.

29. *Sidicinos....Puteolanos:* Sidicīnum, or Teānum, was a colony and city in Campania, towards Cassīnum. Puteŏli was a maritime town in Campania.

32. *Basilum:* A man of infamous character.

34. *Collegæ tui:* Dolabella, who overthrew the monument of Cæsar.

38. *De cælo detraxisti:* The meaning of the phrase *de cælo detrahere* is *to debase;* and, in the next lines, Cicero accordingly says, that Antony had not indeed made Dolabella, his colleague, quite so bad as himself, but had certainly made him unlike what Dolabella formerly was.

42. *Cinnam....Sullam:* See Note, page 28, line 3.

1. *Agmine quadrato:* Soldiers followed Antony in battle array. 158

4. *Calendis Juniis:* At this time Antony returned to the city, as it was the usual period at which the senate met; but, so great was his power, and so tyrannical were his proceedings, that no senator dared to take his place.

11. *Prorogavit:* Cæsar passed a law, that prætors should govern their provinces only one year, the consuls their provinces two years. Antony enabled them to hold the government of the provinces several years.

18. *Hortos Pompeii....villam Scipionis:* Antony possessed these estates.

23. *Divo Julio:* The Romans and other ancient nations often deified their great men.

25. *Collegæ sumus:* Cicero and Antony were colleagues, as both of them were augurs.

30. *Cur non sumus prætextati:* The magistrates of the city during the year of their magistracy wore the *prætexta,* a robe bordered with purple. On festival days, all other senators, who had been magistrates, wore this robe.

4. *Concordiæ:* The temple of Concord. 159

5. *Ithyræos:* Infamous foreigners, devoted to Antony. See Note, page 134, line 21.

159 14. *Conjux:* Fulvia, Antony's wife, had been married twice before. Clodius, her first husband, was killed by Milo; Curio, her next husband, was slain by Juba, king of Mauritania; and Cicero says, she had long owed the Roman people her third debt, insinuating that before that time, Antony, her third husband, should have been killed

27. *Nostri liberatores:* Brutus and Cassius.

32. *Hi:* Brutus and Cassius.

160 10. *Fuit in illo ingenium, etc.:* Cicero here acknowledges the abilities of Cæsar, which unquestionably were very great, but at the same time were employed to the ruin of his country.

15. *Suos præmiis:* Cæsar had the generosity of an artful politician; he was liberal, when liberality would promote the execution of his ambitious designs.

44. Cicero published fourteen orations against Antony; but of all of them the Second Philippic, "conspicuæ divina Philippica famæ," as Juvenal styles it (Sat. X. 125), was the most severe. This oration was perhaps the immediate cause of the assassination of Cicero. The sarcastical wit and pungent satire it contains, so highly exasperated Antony, that he determined to embrace the first opportunity of silencing forever that tongue, whose invectives he so much feared. His desire of revenge did not long remain ungratified. The Roman orator, whom a large portion of mankind have so much admired, in a short time after the publication of this Philippic, became one of the first victims of that bloody vengeance, which characterized the coalition of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus.

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